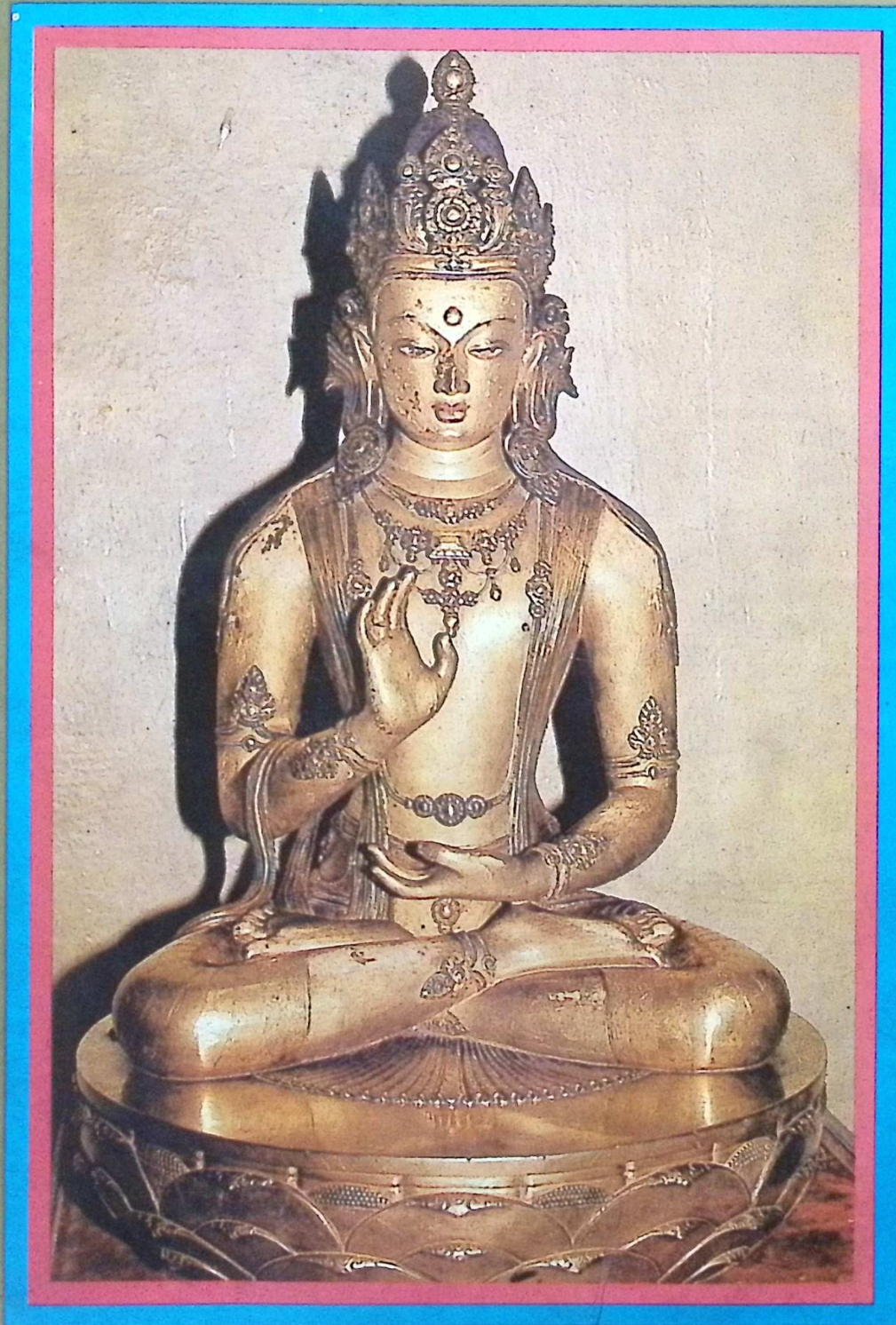
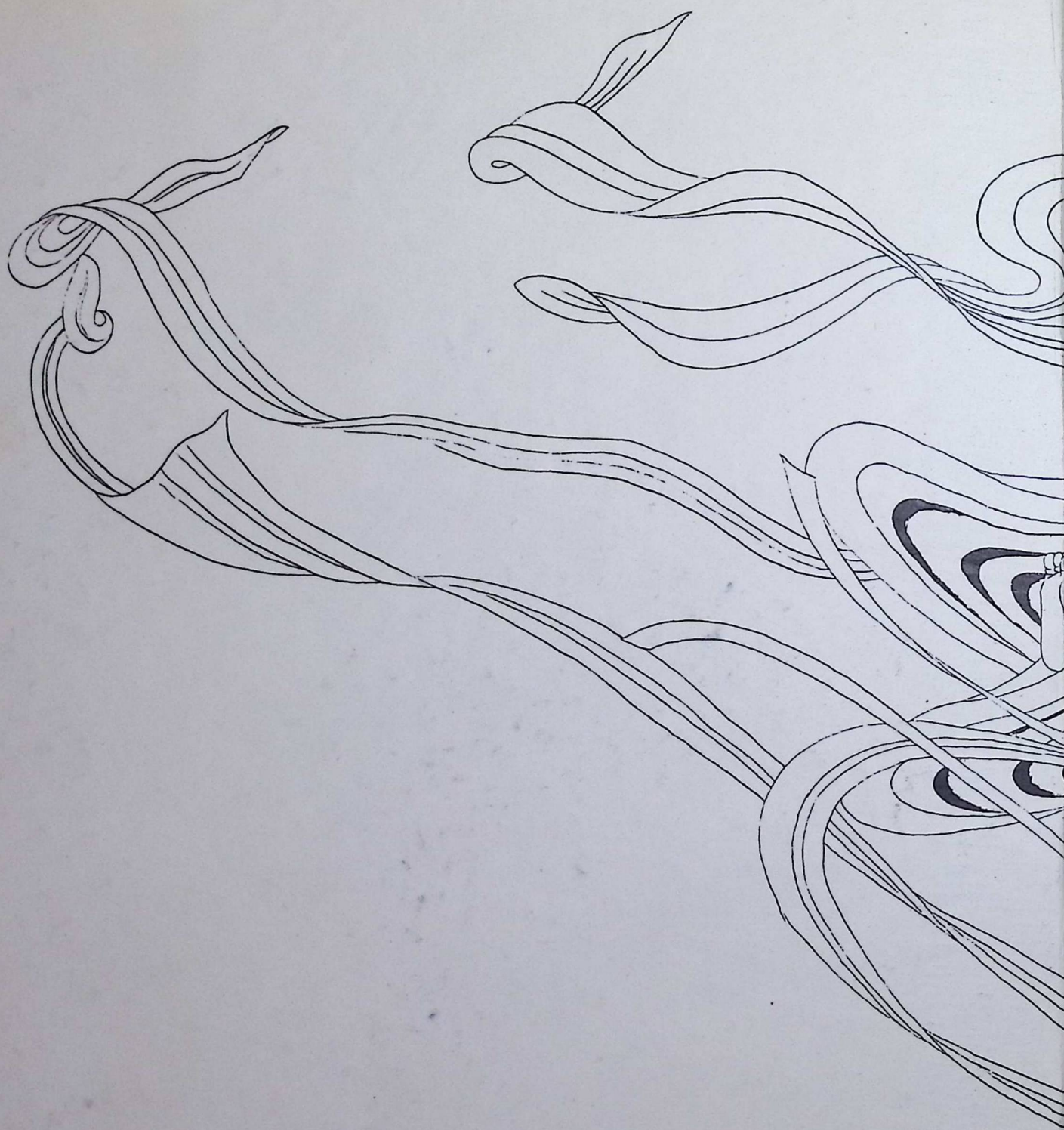


CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME I



LOKESH CHANDRA

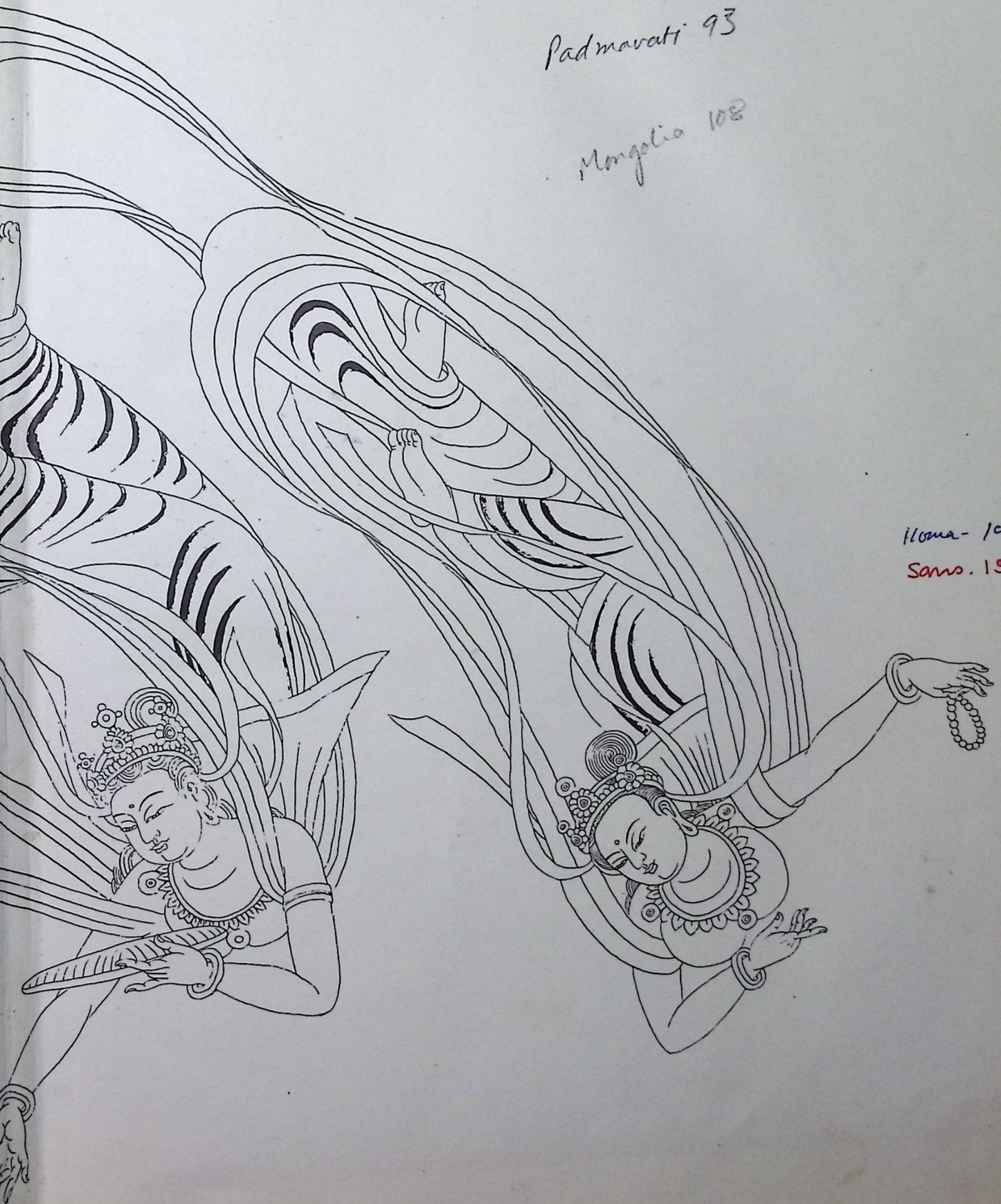


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CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

ŚATA-PITAKA SERIES

INDO-ASIAN LITERATURES

Volume 361

Reproduced in original scripts and languages
Translated, annotated and critically evaluated by
specialists of the East and the West

Founded by

Prof. RAGHU VIRA M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. et Phil.

Continued by

LOKESH CHANDRA

आचार्य-रघुवीर-समुपक्रान्तं

जम्बुद्वीप-राष्ट्राणां

(भारत-नेपाल-गान्धार-शूलिक-तुरुष्क-पारस-ताजिक-मोट-चीन-मोंगोल-मञ्जु-
उदयवर्ष-सिंहल-सुवर्णभू-श्याम-कम्बुज-चम्पा-द्वीपान्तरादीनां)

एकैकेषां समस्रोतसां संस्कृति-साहित्य-समुच्चय-
सरितां सागरभूतं

शतपिटकम्

CULTURAL HORIZONS OF INDIA

VOLUME 1

Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, art and archaeology, language and literature

by

Prof. LOKESH CHANDRA

edited by

TARA CHANDRIKA

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and ADITYA PRAKASHAN, NEW DELHI**

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PREFACE

The present series of seven volumes will span the last fifty years of research articles of Prof. Lokesh Chandra. It will include most of his general presentations as well as research papers that lie scattered in over a hundred publications, many of them inaccessible. This half a century has been the flowing onward of the essence of life, in an effort to create ever newer eyes. Out the depths of the mind of India and her interactions with other countries of Asia have emerged new sensibilities of expanding awareness of the vanishing and the enduring in the permanence of change. The varied human responses in the rhythms of time enable us to understand the endless continuum of culture. They form the bridge from the perceptible to the non-perceptible. In the perennial or *sanātana* of India and Buddhist Asia, events and symbols, time-intervals and eternal continuities are homogenous and interpenetrative. Thus the stream of our eternal time forms indivisible links in an unbroken whole of that has been, of that is and of that will be. In this is our hope and history, resolve and resurrection.

This volume as the first of the series, portrays the evolution of ideas that emerge from a broad spectrum of quests in Sanskrit and Iranian, Greek and Latin, Celtic and Slavic, Sino-Japanese and Tibetan, Thai and Indonesian history, art and linguistics.

The volume opens with a study of 'Life, space and structures' (p. 9f.): *caitya* or *stūpa* as the cosmic rhythm of space, from the cosmic city to a Tantric *maṇḍala*, time embodied in structures, ideograms in the configuration of monuments. Prof. Lokesh Chandra traces them back to the roots of biological instinct, from *manuṣya* the thinking man (*man* 'to think') to the animal that breathes (Latin *anima* 'breath') or the *paśu* that sees (*paś* 'to see'). The tenacity of life emerges from love and finds its continuity in structured living space, and finally converges in the symbolisation of sanctified space. The complementarity of the biological and the trans-human is apparent in etymologies embedded in words themselves. The vantage view of a classicist and humanist can be seen in the author's analysis of creativity and environment (p. 19f.) from the depths of the *R̥gveda*, from the metaphoric fragments of Greek myths, or the Chip Buddhas of Enku, or in pluralism in the ideas of Nietzsche or Goethe. Nature as the human environment from the Vedic to the Puranic traditions is the sap and sinews of India's culture. The presentations on a shared earth (p.28f.), technology and cultural identity (p.33f.), and emerging paradigms (p.35f.) seek new realities of human striving in India's cultural syndromes.

In 'Calligraphy: thirst for the yonder form' (p.39f.) the author surveys the etymology of the English word as the flapping mind of civilisation. Calligraphy as aniconic sanctity, as poetry and painting in China-Korea-Japan, or as sublime austerity of Zen are detailed in creative and historic contexts. From calligraphy, the volume moves on to translation (p.46f.) as a crucial factor in the evolution of the Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, Indonesian, Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic and English literary traditions. The effortless innocence of known and unknown translators sharing new intellectual flows have enriched human thought. The modern world itself was born of the translation of Greeek works into Arabic.

The time and vision of India became the creation and continuity of a number of literatures in the world (p.58f.). Lucian, the satirist of the second century A.D., says that the Goddess of Philosophy first descended upon the Indians. The Indo-European elements in Greek and Latin languages and thought find explanation in the transparency of Sanskrit. The literatures of Central, East and South-East Asia share minds with India in their exploration of the immensity and the depths of life. From dance (p.64f.) in Indian, Hellenic and Chinese cadences the author moves on to India's thought and nature (p.69f.), logic and aesthetics. In Ellora (p.72f.) he reveals the oneiric caves as the syllogism of the soul, the creation of caves over the centuries, their illumination with murals or their śūnyatā filled with sculptures, and the identification of these paintings and icons from classical sources. The author points out that the earliest Sanskrit manuscripts (p.81f.) come from Turfan in Central Asia and from Nara in Japan. While the historical evaluation of manuscripts is a contribution of European scholarship, the history of institutions like democratic republics has been pursued by Indian scholars in refutation of the prejudiced views of James Mill in his six-volume *History of British India* and others, an effort to detail the civilising role of White Man's imperialism (p.81f.).

The author is the son of Prof. RaghuVira the famous thinker, freedom-fighter, Indologist, explorer of manuscripts in North, East, Central and South East Asia, and the creator of words for sciences, humanities, commerce, administration and other modern needs in Indian languages. In "My father is merged into the majesty of infinity" (p.97f.) he reminisces about the work of his illustrious father. Prof. RaghuVira was the only scholar to be permitted by the Government of Mongolia to microfilm the Mongolian Tanjur. The microfilms were enlarged and deposited at Bonn and New Delhi. The author details the steps that led to this stupendous project (p.97f.).

'Buddhism as a pan-human syndrome' (p.111f.) is an evaluative survey of developments within Buddhism wherein Buddha the Man, the Master was transformed

into Lord, into the abstraction of Buddhahood. The historical vacua and contexts that led to its spread in several lands in the living stream of their hearts are discussed. From its formulations arose democratisation of socio-political structures, creation of alphabets, the evolution of printing technology (p.119f.), and so on. 'Buddhism and women' (p.123f.) is an overview of the feminine, as wisdom (*prajñā*), heroine (*śūri*), and learning (*vidyā*), beyond the maternal.

'Kanchi and the cultural efflorescence of Asia' (p.128f.) highlights the role of this great city in the development of international commerce, philosophies of Zen and Vajrayāna, performing arts, architectural monuments like the Borobudur, tea ceremony, and so on. The next article pertains to the other extremity of ancient India, to Udyāna, which is now Jalalabad (p.140f.). It was a city where Indian, Graeco-Roman, Iranian and Chinese minds and merchandise met in the jostling of merchants and pilgrims. It arose as a monastic city, and was appropriately termed Nagarahāra, from *nagara* 'city' of the *hāra* or *vihāra* 'monastery'. Its sanctity, strangely enough, has survived in the Pathan mind till this day as Abdul Ghaffar Khan wanted to find his last repose here. Alongwith Gandhāra, Udyāna and Kapiśa, Kashmir (p.143f.) played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Indian culture to Central Asia. Prof. Lokesh Chandra has collected evidence from Chinese, Tibetan and Arabic sources that bear on it. Thereafter is a comprehensive bird's eye-view of the Mahābhārata (p.148f.) in the literatures as well as visual and performing arts of Cambodia, Japan, China, Mongolia, Thailand and Indonesia. Mahābhārata is the overwhelming expression of Indonesian culture.

The passion of Europe for Hellenism led to her discovery of Sanskrit as a focal point for the conception of Indo-European (p.156f.) and the rise of Romanticism. These resulted in the encouragement of modern European languages. The *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* of 1854 inspired massive dictionaries of German, English and other European languages. The author brings out a new view-point for the encounter of Europe and India in the early nineteenth century. He presents an overview of the linguistic, mythological, political and economic relations of India and Greece in 'The cultural symphony of India and Greece' (p.163f.). The close affinities of 'Lithuanian and Sanskrit' (p.174f.) follow. More contemporary concerns can be discerned in 'India and Austria' (p.182f.) wherein the author pleads that the East and the West are not closed systems, but have to function in a new global matrix. He resumes this approach in his address to the Academy of Sciences of Hungary (p.186f.) on the occasion of the conferment of the coveted honour of an Academician. The next article appraises the studies on the Hungarian national hero Alexander Csoma de Koros (p.191f.), who discovered a vast Sanskrit literature in

Tibetan, and created the tools of a grammar and a dictionary for its understanding. With him a new vision of India's history dawned that was to inspire the Bengal School of India's cultural renaissance in the next century. The quest for roots has been a global concern for the last two centuries. Prof. Lokesh Chandra portrays this dimension of our times in the dedication of Yeats (p.194f.) to a national Irish drama, a native theatre, as the eternal frontiers of Ireland sank their roots in his poems and plays. The intense feeling of Nikolai Roerich (p.199f.) for mother Rus and his aesthetic unison with India are the flowing current that escapes from his hands.

In an overarching study of Sanskrit and Bulgarian (p.205f.), Prof. Chandra projects a new model for the original language and homeland of the Aryans/Indo-Europeans. The nineteenth century paradigm of *Drang nach Osten* 'Push to the East' arising out of the imperial glories of the time conditioned the location of the home of the Aryans. The author points out that linguistic evidence of vocabulary does not point to a common original homeland of the Aryans, nor to a single Aryan identity, nor to a home in the West. The several layers of vocabulary indicate a *Drang nach Westen*, push from the East to the West, pre-Aryan substrates from earlier lost languages, with the superstratum of Indo-European grammar and vocabulary.

The volume leaps to South-East Asia in 'Unto the Śiva Temple of Indonesia' (p.212f.), a record of his visit to the Isles in 1967. He presents the interpretation of Candi Loro Jonggrān, Prambanan in the light of Śaiva Siddhānta cosmology. Then that forget-me-not of Indonesian archaeology, the Borobudur (p.219f.), the monument to love and compassion where the arid heart of man once recited: "Let Buddha be my refuge". In 1971 Indonesia convened the first international Rāmāyaṇa seminar and festival. Rāmāyaṇa is the epic of Asia, expressed in their narrative arts, *belles-lettres*, plastic and performing arts. The article provides a comprehensive view (p.223f.) of this ādikāvya in a short span, followed by a report on the performances at Pandaan in East Java.

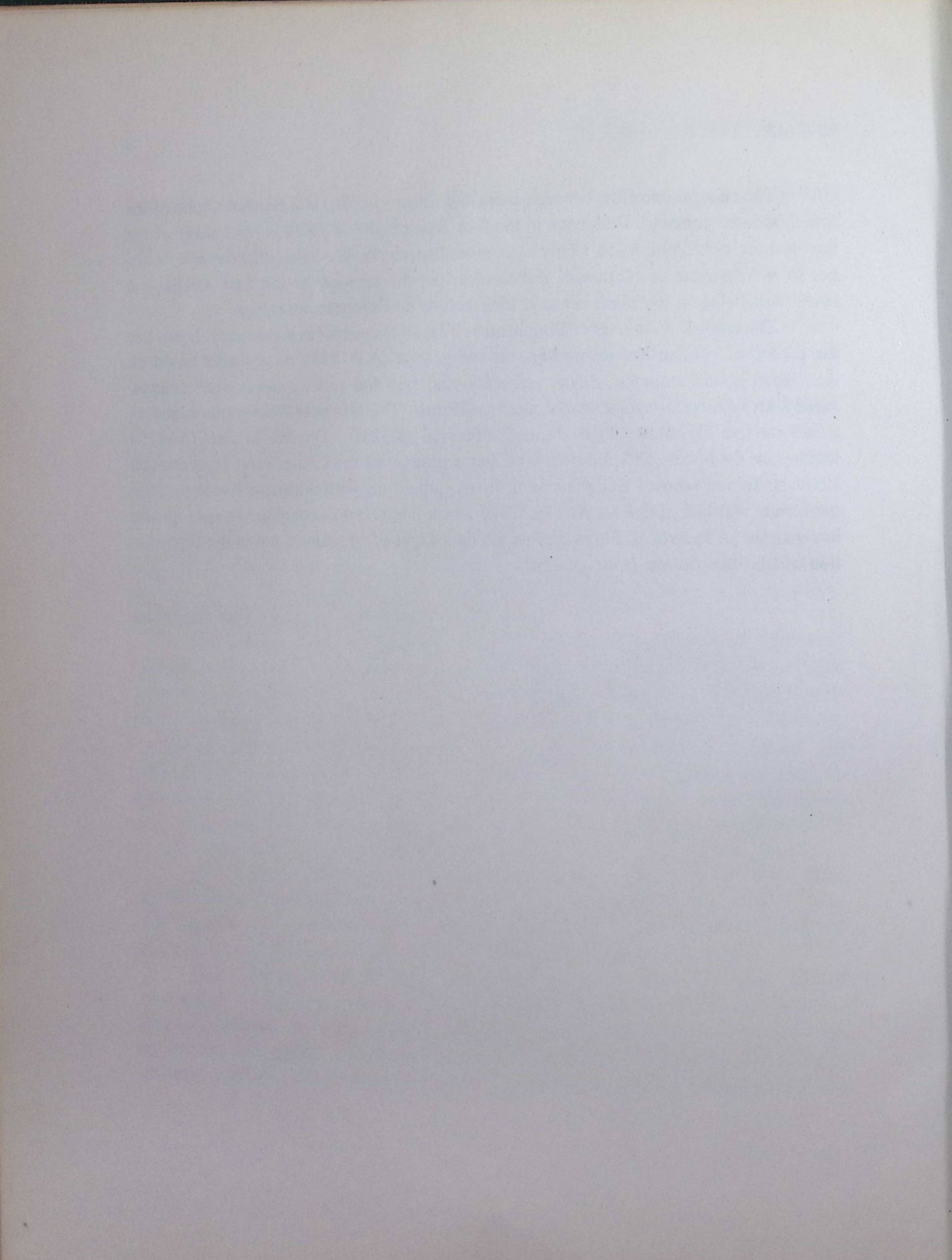
Prof. Lokesh Chandra is well-known for his wide-ranging studies on Tibet. Here are his papers on the symbolic meaning of the Tibetan flag (p.232f.), the narrative art of Tibet (p.236f.) as represented by the Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra the polygraphist of Kashmir, and glimpses of the history of Indo-Tibetan medicine (p.242f.).

The Tibetan form of Buddhism, called Lamaism (may be better termed Bhoṭayāna), spread to the Mongols in what is now Mongolia and in Buryatia in trans-Baikalian Siberia. The author visited these areas in 1957 and 1967 in search of manuscripts and xylographs. The reports of these visits afford a glimpse of Buddhism in Mongolia (p.246f.) and in Buryatia (p.255f.) under the shadows of communism.

The cultural interflow between India and China (p.279f.) is a symbolic echo of the time-honoured contacts. 'Brāhmaṇa in the East Asian tradition' (p.283f.) is a study of the far-reaching contributions to Chinese science through the P'o-lo-men/Brāhmaṇa books out of which came revolutionary discoveries like the creation of the first mechanical clock by I-hsing in the ninth century, long before its European invention.

The cultural encounter of Buddhism and Japan is covered in six articles. Japan has the second oldest Sanskrit manuscript, the oldest vīṇā (A.D. 757), an alphabet based on the Indian sound-sequence, devas and nakṣatras, ṛṣis and rāśis, mudrās and mantras. Japan's art is *koreru ongaku* 'frozen music' of forms. The aroma of Śākyamuni's land as it is found in Japanese cuisine is also discussed (p.321f.). Dhyāna to Zen (p.312f.) touches on the history and philosophy of Zen, a product of the Chinese and Japanese soil from the Indian seed of Enlightenment, in an Indian hut with Japanese bamboos. The book ends with Sūrya in East Asia (p.324f.) which points out outstanding images of him in Japanese art and ritual. Sūrya dispels the dark night of ignorance and is the illumination of life: *tamaso mā jyotir gamaya*.

Tara Chandrika



1. LIFE, SPACE AND STRUCTURES

From the roots of instinct, from a nest to a dwelling, to the creation of geometric bricks in the Vedic citis, to the superstructure of caityas over the citis, the symbolisation of philosophical categories in the stupas, and infinite possibilities of the human subconscious revealing themselves in the constellations of maṇḍalas, a vast array of space embodying transcendence, rūpa and śūnyatā in communion, is a panorama of the eternal absolute in a flux of appearances. Life is well-being. Well-being becomes Being. The body needs embodied space.

From *Lieb* 'love' → to *Leib* 'life' → to *Lebensraum* 'living space' : it is the immediate consubstantiality of life and edifice. The cosmic intimacy of life and space is enshrined in a Sanskrit adage: *yatra viśvaṁ bhavaty ekaṇiḍam* 'where the cosmos becomes a nest'. It is a sentence that thinks and dreams at the same time. The sophistication of human architecture goes far back into the deeps of primitive architectonics of a living, inhabited nest: universal dimensions back to teeny-weeny 'bird architecture', *viśva* to *nīḍa*. The moment we love an image, it cannot remain the copy of a fact. Values alter facts. Like the Sanskrit saying, Boris Pasternak speaks of "the instinct with the help of which, like the swallow, we construct the world--an enormous nest, an agglomerate of earth and sky, of death and life"

It is striking that our consciousness of well-being should call for comparison with animals in their shelters. Victor Hugo associates the cathedral successively with "egg, nest, house, country and universe". The lovers promise each other a cosy 'little nest', a warm 'little nest'. Van Gogh's cottages are overlaid with thatch: thick, coarsely plaited straw.

The word nest has the same etymology as the word Upaniṣad. With the addition of the prefix *upa-*, nest or *nisad* becomes Upaniṣad. The teacher nestles the mind of the disciple. The word nest is the root *sad* 'to sit' with the prefix *ni* meaning 'down': through intermediate forms of **ni-sd-a* (*sd* is a weak-grade form of *sad*) to **ni-zd-os*, it becomes Latin *nidus*, Sanskrit *nīḍa* 'a place to sit down': a preparation for the reception of new life. The practice of nest building, or to use the zoological term nidification, includes all preparations for the reception of eggs or newborn young and for their care. The first stage in this sequence is the selection of a definite site for the nest, in or on which the eggs or young are to be deposited. The classical Sanskrit texts of Kriyā-samuccaya and Kriyā-saṅgraha, on the architecture of sacred sites, devote considerable thought to the selection of an appropriate site.

The nests of the smaller species are more elaborate. Some, like the thrush, use a foundation of clay and line the interior of the nest with a mixture of decayed wood and cow dung. Note the use of cow dung to purify sacred space in Indian ritual. In a Chinese Buddhist text entitled K'ung-ch'iao wang chou ching 孔雀王咒經 translated from the Sanskrit Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī, by Kumārajīva between A.D.402-412, the worship altar has to be smeared with the dung of a white cow. How could excrement consecrate a sanctum, so in East Asia the cow-dung was substituted by its mudrā or hand-posture. The mudrā hallowed the altar.

The rabbit builds a nest in her burrow and lines it with the underfur plucked from her body, in the same manner as ducks, geese and swans line the nest with down plucked from the breast.

What an intimacy of an affectionate breast and a sweet home. A bird's tool for making a nest is its own body, that is, its breast, with which it presses and tightens its materials until they have become absolutely pliant, well-blended. The nest is a bird's very person; it is its form and its most physically intimate effort, nay its suffering. The result is only obtained by constantly repeated pressure of the breast. There is not one of these blades of grass that, in order to make it curve and hold the curve, has not been pressed on countless times by the bird's breast, its very heart.

A house, a home is the gift of woman to human civilisation: or in Sanskrit *grhiṇī grham*. As life begins in the ovum, for nine calendar months, she needs a shelter to bring forth life, away from the fury of elements, the bestial hostility of the storm, the scorching heat, the freezing snow, the anger of heaven itself. She, the mother, the maker of life, becomes the architect of shelter and protection, and builds the house. The word *mother*, Sanskrit *mātr*, Latin *mater*, and other cognate words in all the Indo-European languages, are from the root *mā* 'to make, produce, fashion, form, build'. She makes, produces, gives birth, nurtures. As the creatrix of life, she as well creates a home for life. Come what may the house helps us to say: I will be an inhabitant of the world, in spite of the world. Inhabited space transcends geometrical space. With the house, civilisation begins.

*

Forests were the natural habitat of the Primates. The development of hands and feet was an adaptation to rapid movement through the trees. The hominoids climbed trees for security and employed their powerful arms for swinging from branch to branch. In the course of evolution the genus *Homo* found shelter under the trees. The Tree had become a symbol: the Tree of Life, synonymous with existence. The world-tree, branching through out space, became the wish-granting tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*), and the *jñāna-druma*

(wisdom-tree) which bears fruits of dharma in the Buddhacarita 13.65. The caityas had trees; in fact their centre was the tree itself. The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva 59.63) says that the king should not cut the caitya-trees even around a fort. Meghadūta 24 speaks of the village caityas rich with flora. Citi or altars were constructed under the trees where man paid homage to yakṣas, the mighty adorables (from the root *yaj*): worship congregated

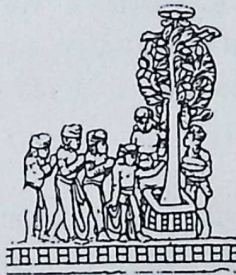


fig. 1

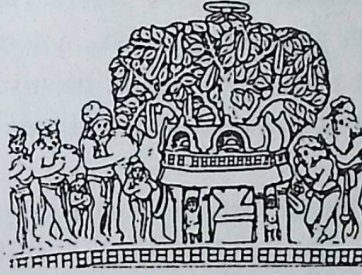


fig. 2

fig. 1, 2 Sanchi, stūpa 1, front of eastern gateway.

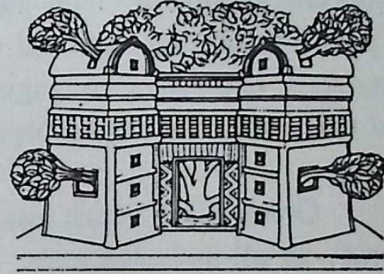


fig. 3

fig. 3 Relief medallion from Mathura.

(From John Irwin, The axial symbolism of the early stūpa: an exegesis, in Anna Libera Dallapiccola, *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, Wiesbaden, 1980.)

people and they became places of assembly. Citis became *vrkṣa-caityas* or tree caityas with superstructures. Caitya is a derivative from *citi* 'a construction with bricks, with *iṣṭakā*'. The word *iṣṭakā* means a brick used in building the sacrificial fire altar in the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas and in course of time became extended in the sense of a brick in general. *Iṣṭa* is worshipped with sacrifices, sacred rites, sacrament. Its extension *iṣṭakā* is derived from the root *yaj* of *yajña*, *yajña* is celebration of transcendence, from which is derived the modern Persian *jaśn* 'celebration', through Avesta *yasna*. Thus the brick is sacerdotal in origin. Several kinds of citis are illustrated in palmleaf manuscripts: *śyena-citi*, *praūga-citi*, *rathacakra-citi*, *droṇa-citi*, *samūhya-citi*, *paricāyya-citi*, etc. The various kinds of bricks used for their construction are detailed in the śulba-sūtras. The pre-Buddhist caityas were shrines to yakṣas and devas where people assembled. Naturally, Buddha Śākyamuni visited these caityas which later on became places of Buddhist veneration. In some, Buddhist relics were enshrined for extraordinary sanctification. This led scholars to derive caitya from *citā* 'funeral pyre', wrongly deemed

to be funerary monuments. The caitya was an axis of life, which enclosed infinity of living and was a dynamised centre of the inner spirit. The mystery of tree-trunks enclosed in masonry structures became psychological transcendents. Nature, the tree, enclosed the infinite, expressed hidden grandeur, depth, inner immensity: the coming together of Puruṣa and prakṛti of Sāṃkhya. To lose ourselves in the distant corridors of etymology, we may look into treasures that are buried in the etymons of a lost Indo-European time: the Sanskrit root *ci*, *cinoti* 'to arrange in order, pile up, construct a sacrificial altar', is cognate to Greek *poiētēs*, the English *poet*, Latin *poeta*, the one who composes, originally fables and fictions, but now verses, one who creates a work of art in poetic form, one endowed with great imaginative, emotional or intuitive power and capable of expressing in language marked by poetic beauty. The root *ci*, in *citi* (*caitya*) and *poet*, links the innate beyond of physical and aesthetic constructs.

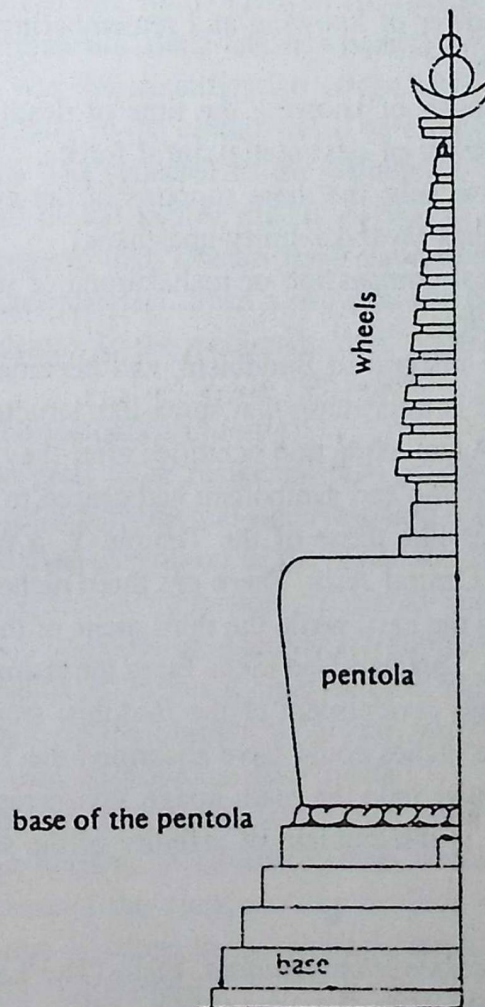
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Greek *oikos* which means 'home' became enlarged into *oikoumene* 'the inhabited world', an all-inclusive term. The Greek *oikos* is akin to Vedic Sanskrit *okas* 'house, dwelling, abode, home, refuge', from the root *uc* 'to take pleasure in, delight in, be fond of'. Faced with the violent hostility of the storm, the rain, nay all the fury of nature, the home became the real being of humanity. It acquired the physical and moral energy of a human being. The metaphysical systems of man became integrated into the house, both dwelling and meditation, the universe came to inhabit the house, geometry was transcended, or the dream became geometry. Let us pass on from a home to a city. The same semanteme gives the word city from Latin *civitas* 'state, city', from *civis* 'citizen', akin to Sanskrit *śiva* 'friendly, dear'. In antiquity, city denoted the confederation or union of neighbouring clans resorting to a centre used as a common meeting place for worship, protection, etc

The physical space of a home, an *oikos*, becomes a *temenos*, the cosmic rhythm of space. Temple relates to paradigms of time and space. Tempus is Latin for time. It is Sanskrit *tapas* with the insertion of a nasal. Latin templum is a space marked out, a sanctuary. Temple is to con-templ-ate ultimate realities. Intricate systems of thought are encoded into architecture. Contemplation becomes a temple, a stūpa. The Tibetan text *Mchod-rten sgrub-paḥi cho-ga* gives the following symbolism of the various parts of a stupa:

first base	: four awarenesses (smṛti-upasthāna)
second base	: four perfect renunciations (prahāṇa)
third base	: four coefficients of miraculous powers (ṛddhipāda)

fourth base	: five faculties (pañc-endriya)
base of the pentola	: five powers (pañca-bala)
pentola	: seven concurrences of illumination (bodhy-aṅga)
turret(harmikā)	: eightfold path (aṣṭāṅga-mārga)
tree of life	: ten knowledges



(Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, Rome, 1932:1.16)

The thirteen wheels atop the stūpa symbolise as follows:

- first wheel : mystic power of knowing places suitable for the Buddha.
- second wheel : mystic power of knowing what is the maturation of different karmas.
- third wheel : mystic power of knowing all meditations, liberations, ecstasy, unions with superior spheres.
- fourth wheel : mystic power of knowing the superior and inferior faculties.
- fifth wheel : mystic power of knowing the different inclinations of beings.
- sixth wheel : mystic power of knowing the different spheres of existence.
- seventh wheel : mystic power of knowing the way.
- eighth wheel : mystic power of knowing and remembering the preceding existences.
- ninth wheel : mystic power of knowing the time of death and rebirth.
- tenth wheel : mystic power of destroying sinful forces.
- eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth wheels: the three supports of the awareness peculiar to the Buddhas (āveṇika-smṛty-upasthāna).

The umbrella symbolizes the great compassion or mahākaruṇā of the Buddhas towards all creatures.

Symbolic structures were integral to Buddhism, and became perennial elements even of derivative architecture. It is interesting that stūpa-like structures continued to be constructed by kings of Central Asian extraction centuries after they had been converted to Islam, when their meaning, function and symbolism had ceased to be relevant. In New Delhi, the Chor Minar has niches like those of the Temple Y, a free-standing ancient tiered stūpa found at Khocho in Central Asia. There are three niches each in the south, west and north, and two niches in the east, while the third niche of the east is on a higher storey, approached by a staircase. This upraised niche faces the rising sun. The form and function of the structure is strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist stūpas of Central Asia. In its original function the twelve niches could have enshrined the Twelve Ādityas. The upraised niche in the east could have held the main image, consecrated daily by the first rays of the Rising Sun. The Sun is the emblem of stability of the state and the cosmic symbol.

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From a cosmic city to a cosmogram/maṇḍala. Plato (The Laws, 745) speaks of an ideal city, a cosmic city, wherein the area is divided into 12 parts (like the 12 months) for the cosmic laws to penetrate. Herodotus describes Ecbatana, the capital of the Medes

built by Deioces, as having seven circuit-walls of white, black, purple, blue, scarlet, silver and gold. The seven walls are an image of the seven cosmic spheres, in the middle of which sits the Sun-King. The Parthian Darabgerd and the Sassanian Firuzabad were inspired by analogous symbolisms. They were concentric circles, with radial axis streets ending in wall-gates, four gates in the four directions. There are echoes of such a cosmic city in several Buddhist texts. To take an instance, in the *Dīghanikāya* 2.170 the city of Kuśavatī was surrounded by seven enclosures made of gold, silver, beryl, crystal, ruby, coral and one of all jewels. The seven walls can be seen in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala as seven lines enclosing it. In the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, Vairocana resides on the summit of Sumeru. The Sumeru has four radial gates in the four points of the compass. This basic structure is part of a maṇḍala alone and has nothing to do with a stūpa.

The maṇḍala was the sanctification of the ideal or cosmic city. It has the four axial gates, the seven lines of the circuit walls, with the presiding deity in the centre like the king. The palatine was reflected in the palladium. This pattern can be seen in the Borobudur which had defied precise identification so far. My researches in Sanskrit, Indonesian, Sino-Japanese, and Tibetan texts have revealed that the Borobudur is an architectural Vajradhātu maṇḍala. Such a maṇḍala has two parts: (i) *ādhāra* (residence), and (ii) *ādheya* (residents). In the meditation of a Vajradhātu maṇḍala, the two parts are clear:

(i) generation of the residence (*ādhāra*).

(ii) invitation to the gods to be residents (*ādheya*) therein, by offering them seats.

The Sumeru with its infrastructure and superstructure is the *ādhāra*. The evocation of the Sumeru is *ādhār-otpatti* or generation of the residence, for the *ādheya* or deities invoked to take their residence in the three-storeyed eaved palace which rests in clouds atop Sumeru. The *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* of Abhayakara-gupta, which is a fundamental text for the construction of maṇḍalas, makes it clear that the Vajradhātu maṇḍala was situated in a *kūṭāgāra* or pavilion atop the Sumeru mountain, with the main deity Vairocana in the centre and others in their appropriate placements.

Without going into further details, we may point out that what survives today as the Borobudur is the *ādhāra*, the Sumeru, atop which was the *kūṭāgāra* or pavilion enshrining the 37 deities of the maṇḍala. The pavilion was a wooden structure and has perished. The horizontal incisions in the pinnacle must have held the wooden *kūṭāgāra*, and other architectural end-elements.

The identification of the *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu* and *arūpadhātu* (the three worlds of passion, form and non-form) with the various representations on the existing monu-

ment is not tenable. The devas of the kāmādhātu and rūpadhātu dwell atop Sumeru. The kāmādhātu has five planes of existence, to which is sometimes added the sixth, the deva-loka: (i) naraka/niraya, (ii) tiryag-yoni, (iii) pretaloka/pitṛ-viṣaya, (iv) asura, (v) manuṣya-loka, (vi) deva-loka inhabited by Kāmāvacara deva. The Kāmāvacara deva are six: Cāturmahārājika, Trāyastriṃśa, Yāma, Tuṣita, Nirmāṇa-rati, and Paranirmita-vaśavartin.

The rūpadhātu is inhabited by Rūpāvacara deva. They are divided into four classes to represent the four stages of meditation (*dhyāna-bhūmi*). The number of categories of deities residing in these bhūmi differ according to the various schools ranging from seventeen to twenty-one in number. The following is a list of the gods in the four dhyāna found in the Abhidharma-kośa (T 29.412):

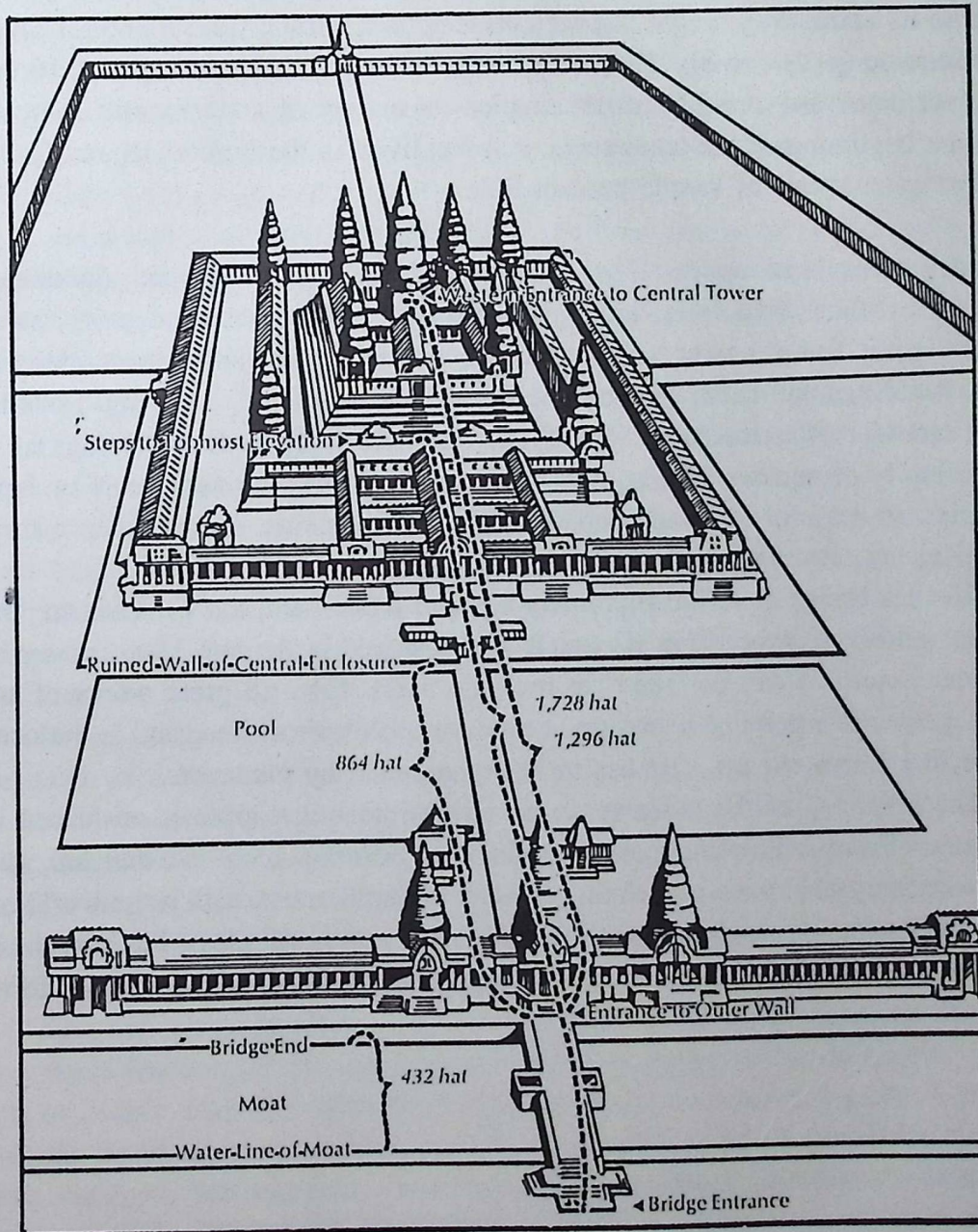
First dhyāna	: Brahma-pāriṣadya, Brahma-purohita, Mahābrahmā.
Second dhyāna	: Parittābha, Apramāṇābha, Ābhāsvara.
Third dhyāna	: Parittaśubha, Apramāṇaśubha, Śubhakṛtsna.
Fourth dhyāna	: Anabhṛaka, Puṇya-prasava, Bṛhatphala, Abṛha, Atapa, Sudṛśa, Sudarśana, Akaniṣṭha.

The heavens of various gods are planes of meditation, crowned by Akaniṣṭha. In the highest heaven of Akaniṣṭha is the dwelling of Vairocana. The various heavens are situated on top of Sumeru as is clear from the available Tibetan and Chinese delineations.

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Time embodied in structures. The dik-kāla, the space-time continuum, is integral to any monument of Indic inspiration. For example, yuga measurements are inbuilt at Angkor Wat. The key measurements of the monument, such as the distance from the entrance bridge to the centre of the sanctuary, are based on Hindu cosmology. The duration of the earth is 4,320,000,000 years, which is one thousand mahāyugas--a single day of Brahmā. After this, the earth is burned up and dissolved into the cosmic ocean for an equivalent amount of time--the night of Brahmā. Then the process of creation, mainenance, and destruction is repeated, as it has been repeated an infinite number of times. Each mahāyuga is divided into four yugas. The *first* is kṛta yuga, the golden age, with 1,728,000 years. The distance between the entrance to the outer wall and the centre of the complex, which is the western stairway to the topmost point of the central enclosure, is 1,728 hat. The *second* period is the tretā yuga, of 1,296,000 years, when man is somewhat corrupted. The distance between the entrance to the tower wall and the western entrance to the central tower is 1,296 hat. The *third* yuga is the dvāpara yuga, of 864,000 years, when man is half dominated by greed and corruption. The distance from the entrance gate of the outer wall to the now-ruined wall which once surrounded the three

central enclosures and the sanctum is 864 hat. The *final* period, in which we find ourselves today, is the kali yuga, of 432,000 years, when man is almost without goodness. The distance across the water of the moat is 432 hat.



Bird's-eye view of Angkor Wat, with yuga measurements in hat (=Hindi hāth 'hand').
(from Bela Kalman and Joan Lebold Cohen, *Angkor: The Monuments of the God-Kings*, London, 1975:98).

Even the measurements of the interior spaces of Angkor Wat, the number of its towers and stairs, the number of deities on Sumeru, coincide with lunar or solar cycles.

Cosmology and structure. Out of the smiling fields of Prambanan, rises the immensity of the sky-kissing temple of Śiva. The central spire of the main temple of Śiva holds us in its enthralling height of over 140 feet, as if sprung from immortal life, a life that is immense (*prāṇo virāt*). The entire complex of Prambanan comprises 16 temples in the inner courtyard and 224 minor temples---a marvel of architectonic composition. Built at the beginning of the tenth century, it has lived in the lyric of legend, recounted by endless generations of simple peasant folk.

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Ideograms and Space. The universe of Japanese forms is dominated by ideograms, by their bold lines, an interior rhythm with a protected unity, sweeping strokes of great force, power and poise. The pagodic lines jump from ideogram to monastic buildings and back. The graphic device *hito-yane* (人 𠔿 'man-roof') has been a dynamic moulder of architectural forms. The rice-field (田 *ta* field) brings us to the study of family of squares. The square world takes us into the very heart of Japanese monasteries, to some of its most exquisite formal refinements: stones set in a carpet of moss at Katsura, awaiting the bare feet of a goddess.

The sea brings us to the supremely abstract monument, the *kare sansui* "the dry landscape" garden of Ryoan-ji in Kyoto. It was designed in the late 15th century by the Zen master Soami. It can be "read" in multiple ways. Like all great works of art, the Ryoan-ji garden is a point of departure, a new for each visitor. The sand is the ocean of existence, the *bhava-sāgara*, that has to be transcended by *pāramitās*.

The epiphany of the inner space or vision into outer space is enshrined in the Heart Sutra: "Form is Emptiness and Emptiness is Form" (*rūpam eva śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*). Śūnyatā is the world of the absolute (*tathatā*) and *tathatā* is the world of particulars. Interiorisation needs an exteriorisation. Śūnyatā is formless, but it is the fountainhead of all possibilities. In the realm of śūnyatā no dichotomies are possible: form and śūnyatā are one.

2. CREATIVITY AND ENVIRONMENT

I stand bewildered and baffled by the over-awing immensity of the concepts of creativity and environment. So here are some stray birds, shredded fragments of continents in motion, echoes from different levels of existence and consciousness. Transistors or transcendence, computers or contemplation: Where lies the chaotic surface and where is the powerful vitality, where is the conflagration or where is compassion (*karuṇā*)? Perhaps 'and' instead of 'or' would be appropriate: computers and contemplation. Wherein lie the saps and sinews of the culture of Man? Where lies sensitivity, the horizon permeated with reverence for life and love for creatures: is the lonely pine my brother? I am entangled in the mountain mists, the utter silence of grey void, the drifting billows of vapour, for somewhere therein is the throbbing substance of life and meta-life. The four-dimensional logic of objective existence is but an essence of unfathomed universes of thought. Secret links of man and nature are the purest, primordial beauty.

The civilisation of ancient Greece was nurtured within city walls. The word 'civilisation' itself derives from Latin *civitas* 'city', *civis* 'citizen', a word which is cognate to Sanskrit *Śiva*, according to Webster's New International Dictionary (p.492a). However, in India Man's spirit and the spirit of the Universe are one. Man and the world are one great Truth. How can we divide the bud and the blossom. The literature of India was the purest voice of her deeps, the dream of her reason, born of leaves soaked in the dew of dawns since the days of the R̥gveda.

Our primal poem, our ādi-kāvya, the Rāmāyaṇa welled forth at the grievous sight of the death of a love-lorn avian couple shot by a hunter. A new metrical form surged forth in all spontaneity from the agony of the bird falling dead. The ephemeral *śoka* of Vālmiki became the perennial *śloka* of Indian literature. Primal pain was a perennial poem. The leaves, the bird, the air, the falling, the forlorn forest had opened up inside the whole being of a nation. Ever since, Rāmāyaṇa has become the lyric of men of Asia from Siberia to Indonesia.

Man and his environment are woven together in a fragrant heritage: the whole of nature, those frontiers of the real, gusts of wind or pollen from the infinite primaeval forests of India's unknown time: they were our Āraṇyakas preceding the flights of the Upaniṣads. Nature planted her heart in the mind of India. Out of it, out of the *araṇis* came the fire, the Agni, that was decisive in its timelessness. Poesy and history, time and man intertwined: पश्य देवस्य काव्यं यो न ममार न जीर्यति । India's earth held the voices of her eternal poet's deep within. They were the coming together of man and creation,

wonder and awe, the *camatkāra*. The word *camatkāra* refers to the 18th chapter of the Yajurveda, the remarkable *camaka* hymn. It is an affirmation of life, the substantiality of existence, which is to be attained by every me. The me is echoed by every twin phrase of Sanskrit *ca me ca me* : strivings and weavings, songs and poems, light and enlightenment must my exertions gain for me. Stony wastes, clayey plains, hills and dales, vast sands and dense forests: must my exertions gain for me.

अश्मा च मे मृत्तिका च मे
गिरयश्च मे पर्वताश्च मे
सिकताश्च मे तनस्यतयश्च मे.....

The R̥gveda, the first document of the Indo-European peoples and of the Indians in particular, begins, with the word Agni, the mother of civilisation and culture. Homage to Agni (*Agnim īde purohitam...*) became an intellectual reality of human evolution. The Prometheus complex is the Oedipus complex of the life of the intellect. Reverie by the fireside, the yajña and homa, had axes that were philosophical. The conquest of the superfluous gives man greater spiritual excitement than the conquest of the necessary. The yajña was a pyrotechnical perception of the depths of the universe in continuity of thought and thaumaturgy. The pyromenon or the phenomenon of fire became active in light, the symbol of transcendence. Fire's movement or its repose became conducive to hymns: the havoc of fire inspired the destiny of R̥gvedic man. It linked the small to the great, the hearth to the volcano. Fire was not a separable datum of experience. It was linked by analogy to other aspects of experience. The figures of simile and metaphor in literature fired the enhancement of the mind.

The R̥gveda speaks of *dyaus pitā prithivī mātā* 'sky the father and earth the mother'. Man and nature are the breath of the imperishable, most alive and beautiful in myth. The myth has been the synchronicity of the sublime and the secular in India. It has been the light and lyricism that has lived on and yet lives in our life. *Zhivvyot rodina mat* "long live the motherland" electrified the mind of Russia from the age-long patina of her own folklore and changed the outcome of the Second World War. This sentence breathes the atmosphere of the R̥gveda in its vibrating words: *rodina* is Vedic *rodas*, *mat* is *mātā*, and *zhivvyot* is *jīvyāt*. Ancient rhythms opening the doors of contemporaneity to wed aspirations with actions.

Till the discovery of Sanskrit, Greek mythology was a fragment of metaphors and dreams, pages torn from the book of Cleo, the Muse of History. With the rise of

Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, it became possible to sift and interpret the several strands that wove the magnificent fabric of Greek myths, the artistic and ethnical parameters that gave rise to creative symbolisation in a galaxy of mythologies. The omnipresent Panhellenic god *Zeus* was Vedic *Dyaus* 'Sky'. What at first was only an appellative of the sky became the supreme ruler of gods and men, whose will was law. Europe had to wait for 2,300 years to know the origins of Zeus, when Sanskrit was discovered in the 18th century, though Zeus was the mythical deep of European time. The word 'Europe' itself was born out of the myth of the young princess Europa who was carried away by Zeus disguised. Today Europe awaits elopement by Dyaus.

India has effected the aroma of an entire civilisation, namely, that of China. It is a flow from sign to eye, from eye to the mind. Sanskrit words and syntax became Chinese ideograms that span the inner spaces of the mind of China. Hsüan-tsang, the Prince of Pilgrims to India, translated into Chinese the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 600 scrolls. When the Chinese Emperor saw this work on transcendental wisdom, he said: "Looking at these Buddhist works is like gazing at the sky or sea. They are so lofty that one cannot measure their height, so profound that one cannot plumb their depths". India lent heights and depths to the human soul. The higher the mountains, the deeper the valleys. Whenever and wherever was India's voice, there was the harmonization of man, nature and divine, echoes of each repeated at various levels of consciousness.

The cultural forms that evolved in Buddhist Japan had seven characteristics which are of equal significance and in their inseparability form a perfect whole. The seven characteristics are: asymmetry, simplicity, austere sublimity, naturalness, profound subtlety, freedom from attachment, and tranquility. When they permeate every aspect of human expression, they become alive and vital, vivid and refined in unique cultural forms, that bring about the union of man with the 'flower-heart' (*hana no kokoro*) and 'the universal heart'. The modern gadgetry of three-in-one derives from the 'Principle of Three' in Ikebana, namely, heaven, earth and man. Man is a channel for the spiritual as well as the earthly: the three form the unbroken Three-in-one. They converge into endeavour in its twin aspects: the metaphysical and the practical, the trans-rational and the logical, the *prajñā* and *vijñāna* aspects of Buddhism. The 'Principle of Three' was expressed in flowers by Buddhist monks in Japan to reflect the profound meaning of *Karuṇā* or Compassion for all life and cosmic law of growth. Hereby flower-heart, man's heart and the universal heart were the deep expression of life. The 'artless art' was the Environment, touched by the breath of the spirit, its creativity.

The Japanese monk Enku sculpted a hundred thousand statues. They are 'Chip Buddhas' where the transitions of planes are sharp and they reveal the encounter of the tool with the surface. Enku's attitude in carving was spontaneous. Was the *śloka* not born in spontaneity? Is the human not conceived in the abandon of joy? Enku carved the heart of creation. Tall oaks and cherry trees entwined with wisteria vines now stand at the spot where Enku attained nirvāṇa. People living in the village say that these vines will bleed if anyone cuts them. They are the creative touch of the rarity of life: मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शार्वतीः समाः । Hunt not, hearken to the unseen in the kingdom of the revealed heart. Let time dawn, pristine, empty in whose flowering heart I once was.

Creativity may not exist without mystery. The link between the creative experience and mystery is consistent in diverse cultures. Out of chaos order was born. Order out of non-order, ever new forms out of the formless is implicit in the classic meaning of creativity. The scientific analogue is that the earth evolved from nebulous clouds of particles which were floating about in space. To employ the words of the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra: *śūnyatā eva rūpaṃ*. The empirical-positivistic philosophies, which developed in the 17th through the 19th centuries, refused to consider the possibility of 'pre-existent' or innate truth. Modern science is based on them. Man was viewed as a *tabula rasa* or blank slate at birth and he acquired everything through his senses. The creativity of science tended to the continually expanding discovery of the secrets of nature. Based on exterior discovery, the notions of progressive control of nature have brought life to the brink of a nuclear winter of total extinction. This has prompted modern trends of 'humanistic psychology' to a direction that is consistent with much of Indian thought. India's visualisation has become a model for deeper understanding of the human being, wherein the amazingly complex universe of consciousness becomes the concern of creativity. This may lead the coming decades to a transcending process in which we open ourselves to the universal order of which we are a harmonious part, to *ṛtaṃ ca satyaṃ ca* of the R̥gveda. In these new creative moments the Western man feels a sense of unity between himself and the universe. The French have tended to consider many of our technical innovations as 'inventive', or 'clever', or 'resourceful'. However, they reserve the term 'creative' for more spiritual 'innovations', such as great art and philosophy, painting and poetry. It is the immutable and eternal reality from which the flux of the world appears. It is the ātman which consists of interior light (*antar-jyotī*). It is the light with which the poet wishes to merge himself: *tamaso mā jyotir gamaya*.

Among the vijñāna-vādins, ālaya-vijñāna and mano-vijñāna replenished each other. Ālaya-vijñāna or 'store-consciousness' is the collective psyche in which individual

experiences are deposited to re-appear. No act or thought is ever lost. Neither is it immobile or immutable. It is an experience continually being enriched. The *mano-vijñāna* is individuated consciousness which seeds the soil to perpetuate the cycle. The eternal and the ephemeral form a fruitful unity. In it the endless past and the fleeting present live together for a thrust in the future sans end. It is the *tri-samaya-vyūha*.

The multi-faceted richness of the structures of India's consciousness are multiple patterns of the divine. Polytheism alone can move meaningfully through a pluralistic universe. Pluralism is a homage to the meaning of the Cosmos in its seeming anarchy or infinite order. The whole process of India's creativity was purified, perfected and ennobled in the marvellous art and capacity for creating gods and goddesses. It was "the power to create for himself new and individual eyes, always newer and more individualised" (Friedrich Nietzsche, *Joyful Wisdom*, 1960:180). It was the constant transvaluation of meaning and being, of knowing and communicating. In India we always discovered variousness and many-sidedness in the flow of the Perennial. The structures of meaning and being became enshrined in the stories of the endless pantheons of gods and goddesses in the Purāṇas. They were beyond measure; as immense as life: *prāṇo vai virāt*.

For creating the meaning of life in all its richness one has to be able to say with Goethe: "as an artist I am a polytheist, as a naturalist I am a pantheist". That is why we, who had a word for everything, have no word for religion. So did the Greeks have no word for religion. A polytheistic world of inherited metaphors, concepts and categories of thought became poetic and humane distillations. Each of us has his or her 'secretly potent pantheon of dream': new potencies, new realities of expression. Every new turn is a touch with fresh depths, a re-turn to the deeps of the Perennial to infuse new life with new symbols. The Eternal is Value and the New is Meaning. We have to realise that the centre of India was, is, and will be not only everywhere, but also in *all* time. India is the only country in the world which uses the *Śṛṣṭi Sāṁvat* or Era of Creation that runs to two billion (1,96,08,53,085) years. This staggering immensity of time pollinated the ultra-consciousness that creates a sense of oneness with the universe. With the pre-eminence of scientific and technological advance, acquisitive materialism has become the dominant cultural value. It threatens the very existence of life itself. A new paradigm has to emerge to assert the original, greater and all-important reality of life, destiny and mankind. Emergent civilisation has to find its clue in a unified flow of cosmic power in making up a single verse of the Universe: Life.

A new oikoumene has to emerge with a cosmo-the-andric vision in which the centre is neither in the *cosmos*, nor in the divine(*theos*), and nor in man(*andros*). It is a centre to be found in the intersection of the three. We have to inject a new transcreative trinity of time. India's parameters were of *ihatra ca paratra ca*; the here and the beyond. The *ihatra*, the transitory world of man and nature, space and time (*dik-kāla*), environment in its mysterious and visible aspects was central and supremely consequential. The *paratra*, the trans-worldly, the meta-phenomenal was the creativity that replenished the substance of life, that calligraphed the shape of Becoming. For the last ten centuries as we have diminished the role of the *ihatra*, so our rhythms of socio-political and cultural life have ebbed. Today, we seem to barter our Eternity for moments and thus jeopardise the deeper grounds of our existence:

He whose vision cannot cover
History's three thousand years,
Must in outer darkness hover. (Goethe)

India's time runs into billions, into Eternity. Let us view the wholeness of our Becoming. Only then will we be able to view the integrality of Man and the wedding of world's civilisations, to seek a convergence of the humanistic, spiritual and scientific Man becoming one person.

Our commitment to the billions of creation has to be the creativity of a new global environment. You, my dear friends are the *kavir manīṣī svayambhūḥ paribhūḥ* of this new order. We have to befriend the water and the wind, the transient and the transcendent, so that we may declare with the seers of the Atharva-veda 16.3.6: "The unbounded ocean am I" समुद्रो अस्मि विधर्मणा ।

3. ENVIRONMENT AND MAN

The saps and sinews of the culture of India are echoes of nature. Without Prakṛti, Puruṣa is inert. The sensitivity, the horizon of India is permeated with reverence for life, for nature which is Divine. It is entangled in the mountain mists, the utter silence of grey void, the drifting billows of vapour, for somewhere therein is the throbbing substance of life and meta-life. The four-dimensional logic of objective existence is but an essence of unfathomed universes of thought. Secret links of man and nature are the purest, primordial beauty. Veda speaks of *dyaus pitā prthivī mātā* 'sky the father and earth the mother'. Man and nature are the breath of the imperishable, the synchronicity of the sublime and the secular.

The phenomena and forces of nature, and various natural features of the earth are treated as deities in the Ṛgveda. Rivers are personified as goddesses. The Sindhu or Indus is celebrated in a whole hymn. Sarasvatī, Sarayū, Yamunā and others are invoked as flowing from the celestial ocean. Sarasvatī is the most active of the active and she is implored not to withhold her milk. The rivers are purifiers, the bestowers of wealth, vitality and immortality. Mountains are conceived of as divinely animate. Plants are personified as divine. The Ṛgvedic hymn 10.97 praises the healing powers of plants and herbs (*oṣadhi*). The forest as a whole is invoked as a goddess in Ṛgveda 10.146 under the name Aranyānī. She is abounding in food without tillage. The whole of Indian culture is on terms of intimacy with the breath of nature, our invisible needs and aspirations entwining themselves into the dense branches of the forest. Man and nature are in a dynamic equilibrium.

In the Ṛgveda Heaven and Earth, the Dyāvā-prthivī, the totality of human environment, are conjointly praised as a pair indissolubly connected in nature, as veritable Father and Mother, the primeval parents. They sustain all creatures. They grant food and wealth, bestow fame and dominion, promote righteousness. Even the English word *Jupiter*, Latin *Jū-piter*, Greek *Zeus pater* recall the Vedic *Dyaus pitā* 'Sky the Father'. To man, Heaven is father, the Earth mother: *Dyaus pitā prthivī mātā* (Atharva-veda 3.9.1). May the earth, in her ample room, endowed with varied powers, vouchsafe us fortune and splendour. Let us not crash the sky and smash the earth with withered stimuli. No thrust of live coals into the vitals of nature. Let us find the texture of life in the symbiosis of Humanity, Nature, and Divinity. Let the sun implant its astral health in the flowers.

Even when India was covered with dense and dark woods, the trees were revered as synonymous with life. The planting and protection of trees has been extolled in Sanskrit literature to a degree that is unparalleled elsewhere in the world. The Śāṅkhāyana-gr̥hya-sūtra 5.32 says that trees should be planted alongside roads, duly uttering mantras. Kauṭilya opines that a director of agriculture should be an expert on trees. Bṛhat-saṁhitā and Agni-purāṇa say that one should purify oneself before planting a tree. Manu 4.39 and Yājñavalkya 1.133 say that a brahmacārin should circumambulate a tree that falls on his way. Bāṇa's Kādambarī, the greatest prose work in Sanskrit, describes at length the worship of giant trees by queens. Padma-purāṇa has a whole chapter (no. 26) on planting trees. It says that a tree is a son to one who has none. A tree performs meritorious deeds of a thousand good sons, as it serves humanity in many ways. The Varāha-purāṇa also lays down that trees with flowers and fruits take the planter to heaven. The good deeds of trees are like the pañca-yajña. They serve their planter like a father. Matsya-purāṇa 56.17-20 says that by planting trees one lives in heaven for 30,000 divine years, liberates one's ancestors from transmigration, and attains mokṣa, final redemption. Agni-purāṇa, in its chapter on vṛkṣa-praśaṁsā/praise of trees, says that gods, titans, men, birds, animals all classes of beings are benefitted by trees. The trees are like sons, and as they live only for others, they are far better than human sons who are averse to dharma and exist for selfish ends:

पुत्रवत् परिपाल्याश्च ते पुत्रा धर्मतः स्मृताः ॥
किं धर्मविमुखैर् मर्त्यैः केवलं स्वार्थ-हेतुभिः ।
तरुपुत्रा वरं ये तु परार्थैकानुवृत्तयः ॥

The Agni-purāṇa strikes a surprisingly modern note that the cutting of trees leads to famine, disease, drought and other afflictions. The edicts of Emperor Aśoka point out that he planted trees by the roadside for men and animals.

In India education began under a tree. A Sanskrit primer of the 8th century has been found in Indonesia. It is like a live tape-recording of lessons more than a thousand years ago. Here the teacher begins with *saḥ vṛkṣaḥ* "that is a tree", goes on to sentence structure, and finally to the arts of literary embellishment, like poetics, metrics. The tree and the training of the mind mingle.

In the Greek mythic system, for anything to be well and truly made, the co-operation of Athena and Hephaistos is indispensable. Athena is the Goddess of Wisdom and Hephaistos is the titanic smith whose wonderful works are produced with the help

of Athena as co-worker, *syntechnos* in Greek. The two share a common nature and live in the same shrine. Athena or wisdom inspires the *techné* of Hephaistos. The modern system has weaned away wisdom from *techné* which becomes titanic and rapes nature to usher in ruin. Why has this happened? The imperatives of the arid zone, the logic of pastoralism, the circumscribed monistic Word has led to a science that has become arrogant, stunning in its logic, and beyond questioning even if it destroy humankind. Can Plato divinise the new Word? No, that would be blasphemy.

4. SHARED EARTH

A source of the symbolist movement and one of the great poets of 19th century Europe, Charles Pierre Baudelaire sensed the increased intimacy of a house when it is besieged by winter. He speaks of Thomas de Quincey's joy when, a prisoner of winter, he read Kant, with the help of idealism furnished by opium: doesn't winter add to the poetry of a house? (*L'hiver n'augment-t-il pas la poesie de l'habitation?*) Likewise, today the nuclear winter with its horror of cataclysmic extinction brings about a revolutionary change in the relations between humans and humans, humans and nature. The nuclear challenge invites humankind to confront the cosmos with a heroism of cosmic proportions, that is, to inhabit the universe as a verse of space, as a single home. A dream geometry summons us to an interacting order harmonised in the mytheme of an overwhelming State. It seeks the dream space of interiorisation as a *fait accompli*. It evades the continuing relationship between 'inside' and 'outside'. There is no 'inside' without an 'outside'. It is the 'inside' that is interiorised to become 'the inside of the inside'. This process is a continuing realisation in the Traumzeit of man.

An earth citizen is a child of the triple collision of modernization, fairness and cultural identity. He stands at the threshold of the imbalance of the biosphere of our inheritance and the technosphere of our creation. He faces the door of the future that opens on to a crisis more sudden, more global, more inescapable than any ever encountered by our species.

The anti-nuclear movement had led to an awareness of human solidarity, of a common destiny that transcends differences of nationality, ideology, culture, religion or race. Today disarmament is a consummation devoutly striven for. As the world seeks to destroy all conventional and nuclear weapons, the danger of war would have to be eliminated, by dis-inventing what has been invented.

In 1969 U.N. Secretary General U Thant suggested the setting up of four supranational bodies to monitor pollution, population, poverty and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Each was to be given sovereign powers to enforce its decisions in every country. They were to solve global problems invested with worldwide powers. To the four challenges may be added those of drugs, of AIDS, and of economy. Restoring order in world finance and trade is as high a priority as the growing concern to improve the safety of nuclear reactors. The clouds and penguins, fish and deep sea minerals, parking spaces at geosynchronous orbit and the transborder flow of computerized data, are the global commons that compel mankind to share political responsibility in an era of

diminishing relative power. We have new "enemies" that have no respect for national borders: such as, disease, radiation, pollution, poverty. International action to bring national laws into conformity with standards of international human rights are imperative to global life. To deal with crucial concerns effectively demands a strategy of practical internationalism.

In spite of the emerging vibrant multilateralism with its compelling need to share political responsibility, violent episodes scar mother earth. The International Peace Institute of Stockholm estimates that since 1945, there have been 140 "little" wars, which took a toll of 30 million to 50 million lives. Power politics and world-order politics, national objectives and multilateral options need to be blended. War has to become the ultimate absurdity. Pooling sovereignties has long been advocated as a way to avoid war. As early as 1306, Pierre Dubois wrote a tract calling for "the organization of the Christian states for the maintenance of peace in Europe". In 1946 was published the widely circulated book, "One World or None", whose contributors included Albert Einstein and Robert Oppenheimer. The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, meeting in April 1948, had suggested "the drive for world government... the creation of a supranational authority with powers sufficient to maintain law among nations". Its signatories, who included Einstein and Bertrand Russell, were well aware of the dangers of world government, particularly the possibility that a small group of generals would control the world's military forces and might be tempted to seize political power.

Different historical periods are characterized by varying types of social orders, differing in size, absolute and relative power, internal cohesion, value systems, and world objectives. Contemporary patterns of power and purpose are the consequence of the physical and psychological forces that operate within and among the major units. These processes of interaction among the members of the world society can lead to processes of global integration. Interpenetrative attributes of world politics, and existing global structures, though minimal, provide an infrastructure. A key attribute of an integrated international system would be a central authority endowed with the legitimate use of implementive force.

The coming of a world government is dictated by unbridled development. It is a step in the social evolution of the human species, indispensable to the survival of life itself. The disintegration or diminution of local autonomies has to be the consequence of deliberate choice of the units. Integration is to be a voluntary process so as to endow the new global authority not only with power but also with legitimacy.

Will it be a national society acting in "world public order" on behalf of its citizens or individuals participating directly? Will it be a sovereignty of nation-states or of a world-state with individuals acting in concert with others with whom they share symbols of common identity and varying ways of life. A cultural community is necessary to human society. Human beings organize and govern the cooperative actions of society in accordance with shared beliefs and shared values. A world society arisen from simple material needs, like saving the world from nuclear Armageddon, can lead to universal totalitarianism. To attempt a world society we need a universal culture with base values and goal values. Values already achieved are base values, while values being sought are goal values. They gain depth in psycho-historic time. Identity and values complement each other. Shared meanings, purposes and principles alone can strengthen a new culture of egalitarian and democratic human dignity.

A world society, state or government runs a real danger of despotism. It is open to the dominance of a culture, a language, a group, and it would weaken social cohesion. Bertrand Russell says in his book Has Man a Future?: "Social cohesion, in so far as it is instinctive, is mainly promoted by a common danger or a common enemy". Then what about the notion that people everywhere think, act, and dream pretty much alike, and that any religion as well as irreligion offers mankind a set of ideals about which all can agree. Has humankind not made quantum jumps before: in response to the discovery of fire, the development of agriculture and the advent of the Industrial Revolution? Why not from nation-states to a single world-state? It can be an exercise in the management of pluralism on a world scale, "to make the world safe for diversity", without a feeling of a universal "mission". The East and West, South and North must turn into four cardinal points of the same world from oppositely charged political poles.

Beyond the mere awareness of plurality we have to go to an acceptance of pluralism. One of the most positive movements of our day is the seeking to pass from de facto plurality to de jure pluralism. An authentic human plenitude has not to be reduced to its socio-politic parameters with no other substance: man's salvation is not only political liberation, his felicity is not economic freedom alone, his good fortune is not merely to participate in the democratic process. We have to avoid abstract and faceless 'people' who are always silent. In contrast, the individuality of the national face and the unity among people with a common language and a historic destiny of their own has to be conserved. The thoughtless imposition of one universal social division can dehumanise. It is in humanity that we see the immortality of mortal man (Karl Ludwig Börne). Humanity can reach unity only by relying on its intrinsic multiformity,

guaranteeing the freedom of choice to every nation and to every individual and vindicating respect for each other.

The unique diversity of nations can lead in the same general direction of intertwining strands of thought and action for the sake of our common home, our planet earth. To survive and to ensure further development, humanity must adapt to the new conditions and learn to feel like an integral organism. The present year of 1989 is the 'Year of the Serpent'. The wisdom of the serpent consists in that it changes its skin. Man is not given to change his skin, but he can shed his non-mind and awaken the feeling of human solidarity, the instinct of a single species and single family, in a pluralistic all-embracing world, without abolishing constitutive polarities.

The European world perceives a universal order from secularisation to globalisation. They feel that Asian societies are somewhat less vulnerable to the onward march of secularisation, mainly because religions of the East are more resistant to the destruction of religion. The relativisation of traditional identities progresses as a concomitant to increasing global interdependence. Local societal and cultural forms of identity face extinction and the non-European man is being reduced to the Man of the fugitive instant; he is under duress of alienation. His heart is filled by the immanent divinity of secularism. The secular is no longer the profane. It has become sacred, with the values of the sacred. The function of trans-mythicization has been completed. Humanity stands at the door of Heidegger's Europeanisation of the Earth. As recently as the fourth of this month, Prof. Wilhelm Halbfass, Professor of Indian Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania spoke on "India & Europe: The Europeanization of the World". The innumerable webs we weave bind us to a winter of the soul. While the technosphere and biosphere conspire for an earth citizen, the psychosphere shivers in illusions of stability, seeking to unfold moonbeams in dream values. Annexation to the mega-machine of a global state, unleashing forces of alienation, can be the desert of the spirit: "one more emptiness stretched out inside me and I was a desert within a desert" (Henri Bosco). We would prefer to labour in the vineyards of peace than where the grapes of wrath are stored. But above them and beyond them, is the deepest core of the humanum, with its bewildering intimacy of immensity and the human values of divergence.

The English word citizen is derived from the Latin *civis* which means 'citizen'. Civis is akin to Sanskrit *śiva* according to the 13-volume *Oxford English Dictionary*. Let the citizen to-be (if ever to be) be a creative symbiosis to replenish the earth with the concept of śiva which signifies "auspicious and friendly, propitious and gracious, benign and benevolent" away from the cold embrace of a universal cultural invariant. In the

words of a Christian monk of the 12th century Alanus de Insulis, in his *De Incarnatione Christi: omnis mundi creatura quasi liber et pictura nobis est et speculum* "Every creature of the world is for us book, picture and mirror". We have to read, look, and reflect. Man has not to be the stepson of Time but the son of Eternity. The human mind be a wave made of many waves.

5. TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

The very concept "technology and cultural identity" is baffling, because it has fatal contradictions that have roots in the obsolete controversies of the nineteenth century. The concept of isolation is an abstraction, and thus artificial and anti-natural in the Indian tradition. In India the theistic Vedānta and atomic Vaiśeṣika not only co-existed but were complementary in the six systems of philosophy, the ṣaḍdarśana. All were, are, and will ever be, growing points in a humano-cosmic metabolism.

Everything is directly or indirectly related to everything else. This radical relativity is basic to the Buddhist concept of *pratītya-samutpāda*; it is not only constitutive of the whole, but it also flashes forth, ever new and vital, in every spark of the real. Exclusivity is a sure sign of the denial of the onward march of humanity, the *caraiveti* of the Indic tradition. In the ever-evolving *maṇḍala*, the human and the cosmic are one. The circumference is the centre grown up; the circle is the circumference filled and the centre acts as the seed of the other.

Technique in ancient times was art. The Greek *poyi etike techne* or art technique signifies the human mind embodying itself into matter to produce an artifact. The artifact may be a piece of pottery or poetry, it may be a symphony or a structural building. One has to be inspired, not only to create poetry but also to produce any sort of technical activity. This technical activity is human activity that modifies the material world by establishing a new symbiosis with man. Now the tool has become the machine. In Latin, *machina* in a platform upon which slaves were exposed for public sale. The original Greek *mechane* means an instrument, the means of reaching something; it is cognate to the Gothic *magan* or *mazan*, meaning power. In German we have the word *mugan* from the root *mug*, the Sanskrit root *magh* 'to be capable of, to be able'; the Sanskrit Maghavan, Indra, the powerful one. The power of the tool comes from man; that of the machine from outside. The machine imposes its rule upon man. Technology though an instrument is transformed into an end.

Man is no longer an artisan. He has become a labourer in the service of the machine. Modern man is a hybrid between animal and machine. Culture cannot remain outside the human struggle, looking down upon the temporal events of man's life on earth. It can no longer be only a passing moral judgment as to how things are to develop; it has to be involved in the temporal melting pot of human consciousness and scientific development. An internal revolution in humanity and natural sciences has to be intrinsically correlated to Life and to Man. In comparative complementarities we have to

discover, to weave, to create a common human texture which will assimilate the variegated texts of human reason and the various contexts of human experience and experiment, and present the polychromic harmony of human texture.

In creative time, every moment has a beginning, a striving towards the frontiers of the real. The inspiration of time past, our actions of the present and the dreams of the future have to flower in the flow of time, the *tri-samaya-vyūha* in Sanskrit. Dynamism and destiny have to mingle in the trinity of time. Nāgārjuna, the great Buddhist philosopher, says that standing time does not exist - *sthithaḥ kālo na vidyate*.

India's vision was a continuing reincarnation, ever a new order, ever new, never static. We sought a clue in a unified flow of cosmic power, in making up a single verse of the universe, life; in Sanskrit *prāṇo vai virāṭ* : life is immense. The word "civilisation" itself derives from the Latin *civitas* which means city; *civis* means a citizen, cognate to the Sanskrit *Śiva*, according to Webster's New International Dictionary. In Sanskrit we say: *tan me manaḥ śiva-saṅkalpam astu* 'May my mind be endowed with śiva'. Man's spirit and the spirit of the universe are one; man and matter are one great truth; let a hundred flowers bloom and a thousand thoughts contend, for the unbounded ocean am I. In the words of the Atharva-veda, *samudro asmi vidharmaṇā*, समुद्रो अस्मि विधर्मणा Culture can incarnate only in times perennial and in symbiosis with man.

In India, the common man has constituted a major factor in the evolution of thought. Some of our earliest anthologies contain hymns by people from all walks of life. Texts on logic explain to us conceptions in terms of the potter and the weaver, the pot and the cloth, the *ghaṭa* and *paṭa* which constitute the warp and woof of causation and perception. Every person is consciousness supreme, lapsed in time and space. Each of us has his or her secretly potent pantheon of dreams, new potencies, new realities of expression. Every new turn is touched with fresh depths, a return to the deeds of the perennial, to infuse new life with new symbols; the eternal is value and the new is meaning. We have to realise where the centre of human striving lies.

6. EMERGING PARADIGMS

Culture was the mother of science. Science led to techno-industry and development. Development has brought us to the brink of overgrowth. Today we stand at the precipice of life or no-life, existence or extinction.

Bit of a historic perspective may help us to probe new paradigms of development. In A.D.529 the Byzantine emperor Justinian I closed the Academy of Plato and expelled Pagan teachers from the famous seats of learning. Henceforth the whole period between the end of Classical civilisation in the 6th century and the revival of learning in the 15th century came to be known as the Dark Ages. In the 15th century Petrarch opened a new method in scholarship and revealed what we denote as humanism. Learning no more remained a pursuit of a special and recluse class. The new revitalising faith made the work of scholarship highly ardent. The men who followed it knew that they were restoring humanity to its birthright after an expatriation of ten centuries. In the fields of science, humanism wrought important changes. The newly aroused curiosity for nature encouraged great minds to make practical experiments, penetrate the working of physical forces and invent scientific instruments. Classical authors supplied hints which led to discoveries of far-reaching consequences as those of Copernicus, Columbus and Galileo. The positive, inquisitive, secular spirit of the Renaissance, inspired by humanism, gave rise to a new education. Each town established its public study, academy or university. Renaissance implied a new way of regarding the material world and human nature, a new conception of man's destiny. A new world was born.

A few words about the crucial role that the discovery of India played in the 19th century. For centuries, European grammarians had been trying to find the etymologies of Greek and Latin words like *theos*, *divine* from Semitic roots, but in vain. They came to be discovered in 1816 when Franz Bopp published his comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian and German languages. His scientific investigations laid the firm foundations of the concept of 'evolution' of languages. Three decades later appeared the great Sanskrit-German Dictionary from Leningrad, and 'evolution' within language had been firmly established. This linguistic concept of 'evolution' dominated the intellectual climate of Europe. Out of it was to come Darwin's theory of organic evolution, in the *Origin of Species* which was published seven years after the Sanskrit-German Dictionary. The linguistic transparency of Sanskrit thus gave rise to the scientific concept of Evolution.

The empirical-positivistic philosophies which developed in the 17th through the 19th centuries refused to consider the possibility of 'pre-existent' or innate truth. Modern science is based on them. Man was viewed as a *tabula rasa* or blank slate at birth and he acquired everything through his senses. The creativity of science tended to the continually expanding discovery of the secrets of nature. Based on exterior discovery, the notions of progressive control of nature have brought life to the brink of a nuclear winter of total extinction.

The atom, the fundamental building block of matter, was originally conceived as a discrete substance. Since then, the atom has suffered decomposition into elementary particles. These in turn fell under the spell of duality or complementarity, a doctrine which will not permit us to say whether they are particles or waves. Furthermore, it has turned out that they are no longer permanent; they are fleeting episodes in the microcosm. Therefore, atoms do not affirm the question whether everything that exists is material. An answer to this question can be: matter is no longer material.

It is a tendency in physics and even chemistry to reduce all phenomena to the terms of these sciences. They even try to limit explanations to that which is currently known in them. Humanists and biologists fall in: so respected are the deductive aspects of the sciences of matter and energy. But there are processes in nature such as protoplasm, cytoplasm, cellular nuclei, which are inexplicable. They have reduced to doubts the basic assumptions of these sciences.

The idea that matter is "alive" arises in modern physics as a consequence of the wave-particle character of matter which is one of the main concepts of quantum mechanics. It says that matter has two aspects, a particle aspect and a wave aspect. This is expressed mathematically by Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty.

To cite F. Capra "Modern physics reveals the creation-destruction rhythm of the universe in a new light. According to quantum field theory, this rhythm is not only expressed in the turn of the seasons and the death and rebirth of all living creatures (in which the Hindus believe), but is also the basis of the existence of matter and of all laws of nature. Indian artists have expressed the eternal cosmic dance in magnificent sculptures of dancing Shivas".

There is in the modern mind a growing wonder at the baffling depth and immensity of the perspectives being opened up by science, and a growing sense that they are somehow grasped together within a supremely intelligible context having more dimensions than space-time-----a context which man is perpetually engaged in reconstructing from the glimpses afforded him by the play between reality and understanding.

The confrontation between man's inventions in the form of technology and human culture as well as the violent effect of the application of man's acquired knowledge of nature to the destruction of the natural environment have reached such proportions that many people in the modern world are at last beginning to question the validity of the conceptions of science. The revolt emerges from science itself. The famous study that emanated from M.I.T., *Limits to Growth*, has sought to apply the methods of modern science to a study of the effects of the application of this science in the future. The authors of that work as well as many others seriously concerned with the ecological crisis, have proposed a change in man's concept of growth, a return to non-material pursuits, a satisfaction with fewer material objects and many other well-meaning changes. In the words of Sayyed Hossein Nasr: "But very few have realised that the pollution of the environment is no more than the after-effect of a pollution of the human soul which came into being the moment Western man decided to play the role of the Divinity upon the surface of the Earth, and chose to exclude the transcendent dimension from his life".

Growth-mania has led to intensive depletion of natural balances that has upset the ecosystem. Excessive growth has become pollution. The Gross National Production is now proportionally becoming the Gross National Pollution. If such growth is not halted, both the Economy and Ecology will become Ecocide. The new religion of technological worship, whose ritual is conquering nature, devastates the natural web of life. We are sewing a dress of fire for the Environment, both within and without. Have we the right to do so ?

Man is fast approaching the threshold of a newer world as Professor Y.D. Prokoshkin and his group discover 'anti-matter' using the world's biggest synchrotron at Serpukhov in the Soviet Union. The Committee for Inventions and Discoveries under the USSR Council of Ministers has entered this outstanding discovery in the State Register. The pranks and paradoxes, blows and bumps of Economic Man face aching flashes and devastating shocks. Man should not burn in the fire he has kindled by allowing himself to forget who he is.

With the pre-eminence of scientific and technological advance, acquisitive materialism has become the dominant cultural value. It threatens the very existence of life itself. A new paradigm has to emerge to assert the original greater and all-important reality of life, destiny of mankind. Emergent civilisation has to find its clue in a unified flow of cosmic power in making up a single verse of the Universe: Life.

In the politics of transformation, quickened by the impending nuclear winter, India can envision a new order wherein the centrality of Man, of Life may be affirmed. Away from the apocalyptic symbols and archetypal patterns of West's pursuit of power over fellow men, and over nature, will we find inner limits for meaningful goals? Will time dawn, pristine, empty, in whose flowering heart Man once was? Paradigm is from Greek *para* 'beyond', *digm* from the Greek root *deiknumi* 'show'. It is the showing beyond.

7. CALLIGRAPHY: THIRST FOR THE YONDER FORM

From form to function, from purpose to passionate spontaneity, from communication to creativity___ is the way that the lines and curves of written sound move into the harmony and rhapsody of calligraphy. It is the fire of form, the winds of silence rippling into the mind. A Tibetan master asks his new disciple "Look at this banner flapping in the wind. Is it the banner that is moving or is it the wind?" The seeker says in return: "Neither the banner nor the wind___ it is the mind". In calligraphy too it is the mind flapping. It is sound in the flesh and kiss of calligraphy. The biological evolution of sounds to speech, and the civilisational development from speech to written symbol is the phenomenal manifestation. From symbol to its sensitive insight is absorption into paradigms of the primordial. Calligraphy in this transcendence. In it, that is in calligraphy, the tongue has an eye that puts the dynamism of beauty in us. The written symbol finally transforms into illumination beyond form. Calligraphy, the curves of sound, arisen from the calm of contemplation, becomes the image within. Every word is a gallery of faded metaphors, with nuances of lost time. So is the word calligraphy laden with poetic images, the echoes of its roots. Let us try to probe into its vibrating esoteric world.

Sprouting from the dark, the oozing dawns leave wounded strokes of persistent splendour: such is the passionate intimacy of man and nature, enshrined in *calli*, the first element of the word calligraphy. It is the Greek word *kalos* 'beautiful' from the great epic of Homer. It corresponds to the Sanskrit *kalya* meaning 'dawn, morning'. The R̥gveda sings of the Dawn. Thus the cradle of our civilisation is gilded with the rays of Uṣas, the Goddess of the Dawn. The word calligraphy is a sister to this primaeval Dawn who unveils her charms and resplendence. The word *kalya* gives rise to the word *kalyāṇa* 'beautiful, noble, salutary'. In the Ionic dialect of Greek, Sanskrit *kalyāṇa* is *kallonē* 'beauty'. So calligraphy is auspicious beauty: it decorates temples in China and mosques all over West Asia.

The second element of the word calligraphy is graphy, from Greek *graphō* 'engrave, write, design'. It is cognate to Skt. *garbha* the threshold of life, the participation in a flowing onward, the flow into the Immutable, the akṣara: the ephemeral sound in a perennial form.

The Egyptians venerated calligraphy. Around 2000 B.C. the Egyptian wise man Khety said to his son: "I shall make thee love writing more than thine own mother; I shall make beauty enter before thy face".

In the inscriptions of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C., we find geometrical lapidary characters. Their refinement takes place with the advent of the Kushans in whose times a serif is added on top of every letter, and the vertical line ends in a curl. No Kushan was without a cap: how could a letter be without a cap, a head line, a *śirorekḥā*. The north Indian schools sought harmonious regularity in linear and angular elements. Aesthetic effects flowed from the inflection of the line. The scripts of southern India leaned towards rounded forms and curving lines. The curvilinear quality was due to the use of palmleaf as writing material. Ornamental styles found their culmination in manuscripts of the Pala period. The transplantation of Devanagari into the Sino-Japanese world gave its Siddham manifestation new echoes of elegance and animation, of rugged and raging vitality.

In most civilisations of the world, literary or book hand was distinguished by formal aesthetics from the current or running hand used for commercial and secretarial purposes. Ornamental styles evolved for illuminating sacred scriptures. But it was in China that calligraphy became an art, *sui generis*. The Chinese considered painting itself to be a branch of calligraphy. The reverence of the Chinese for calligraphy is the living tissue of life itself, the heart of their ideographic space, that arose with the construction of the Great Wall of China.

As representational art was prohibited in Islam, writing acquired an enhanced artistic value. The oldest Arabic calligraphic style was invented in Kufa in Iraq. Iraq was the centre of the vast territories of the caliphate where art and letters flourished under the direction of the Barmecides. Their immediate ancestors had been hereditary abbots of the Nav Bahar Buddhist monastery in Balkh. As such they were steeped in Sanskrit learning, patronised Greek sciences at Marw and were in touch with Chinese Buddhism, for their monastery was a major entrepot on the Silk Route. Al-Khwarizmi (Mafātīḥ al-'u'lum p.123) actually speaks of Chinese Buddhist temples in Khurasan. In Chinese Buddhism when divinities were not drawn in anthropomorphic form, they were calligraphed as symbolic syllables. It provided a precedent to Arabic calligraphy in its quest for an-iconic aesthetics. In the ninth century a calligraphic canon was composed at Baghdad by Ustad Ahwal of Seistan, a region that had been Buddhist only a century ago.

Calligraphy is *rūpa-brahma*. From the thrill of the mind is born the flow of form. Calligraphy is a creeping passion, a subtle invasion of the eyes, which is the mark of all beauty. It sets the form afire, and spontaneity utters: *Agnim ide*.

Writing is a system of signs intended to convey meanings in organised space. It has served multiple purposes. The current, cursive, or running hand for commercial or secretarial purposes is the functional style. Lapidary writing for royal edicts, donative inscriptions, or legal charters evolves the well-proportioned epigraphic style. The symmetry of the book hand is the literary style. The aesthetically modulated forms in Arabic give us the hieratic style. The Chinese ideogram of pictographic origin transcends all these functions, smashes common-ness and deliberately palpitates to whirlwinds beyond form. The texture of Chinese paper for calligraphy is itself a sensitive exercise in creative effort. The paper waits to be touched by a hand, by a breath of calm where time rests from its flowing. In the sinocentric world, calligraphy is rūpa-sannyāsa that transcends into rūpa-brahma. In the world of the ideogram, it is the fusion of strokes and circularities into sinuous, sensitive lines, causing entire new chapters of graphic shapes to be created and reflecting life in all its magic and elusive fluidity. It is beyond lines meeting, crossing, counterpoints of lines, families of rectangles and squares.

East Asian calligraphy is a dance of the hand on a sheet of paper. There is a continuous, complex flow from sign to eye and from eye to the mind and the taste of a civilization is deeply affected. In China, Korea, and Japan, calligraphy is absolutely central to culture. Calligraphy is not a medium to convey information but a vast flow of abstract shapes that live in their own right, behaving often as echoes of shapes and mothers of new shapes. The brush caresses the paper, often leaving white spaces where it leapt and briefly suggesting a connection that was not entirely "said" by the brush. Japanese Hiragana often looks like the hair of ancient beauties depicted in Yamato-e scrolls, and we are deep in the living tissue of life.

Calligraphy is a rite. In the world of Chinese calligraphy, the ideogram is master and king. Simple vertical and horizontal lines are a constant accompaniment throughout the Chinese day, suggesting a gentle feeling of purification rather than the cold aloofness of abstraction. When about to calligraph, the Chinese master Kuo Hsi would wash his hands and rinse his ink-well, he would put his desk in order, and burn incense on his right and left, "thereby calming his spirit and composing his thoughts".

The Four Treasures. Writing materials of calligraphy command reverent love. Thus ink, inkstone, brush and paper are refined implements that are known as *wen-fang-ssu-pao* "the Four Treasures of the Literary Room".

1. *Ink.* Indian ink was made from *kājal*, the collyrium of the eyes: it was *snigdha-śyāma*. Ink was alive. Like the eyes of the beloved it speaks to the mind. The ink used for seal impressions was made from cinnabar and the contrast of splash of

vermilion of the seal and the deep black of the characters added further dimension to the beauty of calligraphy.

2. *Ink-stones.* Among the many illustrious calligraphers of the Sung period, Mi Fu (1051-1107) wrote a whole treatise on ink-stones that is a classic to this day. He speaks of the many shapes of ink-stones, e.g. *yun-yüeh-yen*: ink-slab showing clouds and the moon. Mi Fu ends his work with admiration for a special stone, exclaiming: "It is a great treasure of the empire".

3. *Brush.* We find massive, harsh, stiff lines in the early inscriptions on ceremonial bronzes of the Shang (ca.1523-1027 B.C.) and Chen (1027-256 B.C.). In the second century B.C. General Meng T'ien, who supervised part of the building of the Great Wall, invented the responsive brush (*pi*) tipped with a fine point: deer's hair covered with goat hair.

4. *Paper.* In China beautiful and finely made paper was used for calligraphy. In the Torige Tensho Byobu calligraphy in Japan, the paper has been prepared by blowing green and brown pigments onto it in such a way that bird and flower motifs are formed. Characters inscribed upon such a background are national treasures of Japan.

Style. A line in Chinese calligraphy is executed with a single stroke of the brush. It is not possible to touch it up afterwards. The writer's skill or lack of it, are always apparent. Perfect co-operation between mind and hand is the ground of its being. From examples of Emperor Hui-Tsung's writing, executed in the style peculiar to him and termed *Slender Gold*, we can infer that he was a person of handsome appearance, tall and slim, meticulous as to detail. *Flying Grass* is uncurbed force and rapidity of style. Herein the later Ts'ao-shu style grew more and more care-free and 'grassy'.

Living lines. Every twig of a living tree is alive; and every tiny stroke of a piece of fine calligraphy, inspired by some natural object, has the energy of a living thing. Strokes are inspired by the brittleness of the sheep's leg, by the massive paw of the tiger, the rugged face of a rock.

Calligraphy in the clouds. In the Wei dynasty when the Ling Yun T'ai – a recreation pavilion "as high as the clouds" – was being built, Emperor Ming had the famous calligrapher Wei Tan write the plaque inscription. Wei had a platform built at a height of seventyfive meters and climbing to it, wrote the inscription. When he got down his hair had turned white from unbearable fright. He admonished his children not to become calligraphers.

Calligraphed a mountain. Chung Yu, a great master, the founder of the Regular Style of the Wei period, withdrew for about ten years to the mountain called

Pao-Tu in order to practise calligraphy in quiet, and left nearly all the trees and rocks about him stained with ink.

Drunken style. At a glance the script looks like the work of a drunk, with a splattering, uninhibited style on a grand scale, reminiscent of the wild grass of the T'ang calligraphers.

It is said that Chang Hsu would get drunk, and while shouting at the top of his voice would slap huge sosho characters on anything that came to hand--pots, clothes, anything. It is also said that at times he would soak his hair in ink and write with it. Huai Su, a monk who took up this technique, wrote in a similar sosho style, and this is called wild grass.

The Han dynasty style exhibits an extreme exaggeration of the start and finish of each stroke, and has a rude, yet stern and imposing appearance. We are reminded of the ceremonial solemnity of Han dynasty officials governed by Confucian precepts. It is in contrast to the simple elegance of the calligraphy of the gangyō (sūtras copied out as an act of pious devotion to acquire merit), which is truly magnificent. Numerous gangyō manuscripts are preserved in the Shōsōin repository.

Male-female distinction. In Japan, Chinese studies came to be regarded as the special field of men, and women specialized in waka literature and came to use hiragana by "softening" kanji to fit the graceful, courtly feeling of waka poetry. In the hands of the Japanese noble-women, hiragana developed by the greatest possible simplification and refinement of sosho. This beautiful script can justly be called the unique calligraphic style of Japan.

Energy. There are seventy-two types of *hissei*, literally "brush energy" or "brush momentum". A large-charactered sosho copy of Tsuo Yu Ming by Ts'ui Tzu-yu of Later Han is attributed to Kūkai. It is an extraordinary work, technically skilled, with a kind of bursting energy that exhausts the technical subtleties of the traditional schools.

Source-books. Copies and tracings were passed down in the families of shōhase, or doctors of calligraphy at the Government University in Japan. There are dictionaries that give solely gyosho characters. One of these is the Gyosho Ruisan in 12 volumes, published in 1833.

A source book for making the type of seals known as fukuju-in (good luck seals) or hyakuju-in (hundred long-life seals). It was a common custom to present on auspicious occasions a calligraphy consisting of the character *ju* (long life) written out in a hundred different styles as an expression of good wishes.

Zen calligraphy has seven characteristics :

1. No rule, Asymmetry
2. No complexity, Simplicity
3. No rank, Sublime Austerity, Lofty Dryness
4. No mind, Naturalness
5. No bottom, Profound Subtlety, Subtle Profundity
6. No hindrance, Freedom from Attachment (*asaṅga*)
7. No stirring, Tranquility (*śamatha*).

Hajuin (18th cent.) calligraphed MU in grass style. MU appears in a wellknown koan, used as an aid to attain Awakening. A monk once asked Master Chao-chou if a dog has the Buddha-nature. The Master simply retorted: MU "no". But this reply transcends "no" in the word's ordinary sense. When the meaning of MU is realized truly, the True Self, the Formless Self, is awakened. In other words, far from simply meaning "no", MU is Zen itself. Although this character imparts an impression of grotesqueness, it rather attains the quality of Sublime Austerity (characteristic 3), replete with strength, constancy and a masculine vigour. Both the form of the character and the tone of the ink express Subtle Profundity (characteristic 5).

Hakuin calligraphed the Sanskrit bija symbolizing ACALA. Acala is the destroyer, a form that Vairocana assumes in order to annihilate evil and to subjugate every obstruction to Awakening. At the command of Vairocana he becomes wrath incarnate as the subjugator of evil. Acala thus represents the evil-destroying activity of Compassion. This calligram is a celebrated example of Austere Sublimity (characteristic 3).

The "thirsty brush" of the grass style characters is non-attachment, *asaṅga*. Notice how free and wild the brushwork is. This is detachment, adherence to "no thing". The wildness derives, after all, from Freedom from Attachment. The veering off, distorted and misshapen, is the first characteristic of asymmetry. But nowhere does the *déformation* appear forced.

The space is Nothingness, that is, the Self. The way in which the Self Without Form comes to express itself in Chinese characters is consequently inevitable. In forming that space he is forming his Self. In fact, a calligrapher is "living space".

Calligraphy is the ripples palpitating to inner currents, a roving vessel of the mind. There is a saying in Japan that a woman cannot love a man who is truly vain, for there are no crevices for love to enter and fill up. Calligraphy is the crevices for love

to fill. Calligraphy says: "I want to lie alone with a syllable". Calligraphy is immensity, the *virāṭ* of *rūpa*. "Beauty consists of order united to magnitude".

We close with a calligram of Ajikan. Meditation on the letter A (*a*, *ji* 'letter', *kan* 'meditation') was initiated by Śubhākarasimha the illustrious ācārya who went from Nalanda to China in A.D.716. In the calligraphy of the great master Kakuban (A.D.1095-1143) is ॐ A golden in colour, emerging from a pristinely white eight-petalled lotus, situate on the adamantine plane of the vajra. In its meditative intensity, the Ultimate becomes manifest. Through the seen we gaze upon the unseen.



The letter A in the calligraphy of Kakuban (A.D. 1095-1143)

8. TRANSLATION AS A PROCESS OF HISTORIC RENEWAL

The modern world was born of the translation of Greek works into Arabic which led to the search for original Greek texts. The discovery of Greek originals gave rise to the Renaissance, to the Age of Reason, to the Romantic Revival, and to Science. In spite of its Pagan content Greek survived to give rise to the Renaissance, because the earliest translation of the Old Testament was done into it. The scientific spirit that arose in the wake of Hellenic inspiration blossomed in epic discoveries of the 19th century leading to the new revolution of Evolution, creating dynamic syndromes of progress which have ever moved forward into glorious achievements enriching human life to our day.

Transgression, Translation, Transcreation. Translation has shed minds and horizons like rose petals in the long pilgrimage of civilisation. It has been a catalyst in man's onward march and limitless growth. It has been a process of acculturation and creativity: in the vastness of this vision was I born. As a child, I saw my father Prof. RaghuVira, hum the Vedic hymns into a harvest of songs in English; or as he put it: "Today I recite to the modern man in a modern tongue the noblest chants of the Vedas". Speaking of the dynamics of this transference he wrote: "Philologists, men of colossal learning, had produced mummified versions of these hymns. They had found the dictionary and the grammar very handy. They had thought that pricking was the essence of a needle. It could create holes, but it missed the purpose of creating holes. The philologist has missed the eye, the vision" (RaghuVira 1978:345).

The 1920s and 1930s were moved by the English renderings of his Bengali poems by Poet Rabindranath Tagore. The Nobel laureate W.B. Yeats wrote of them: "For all I know, so abundant and simple is this poetry, the new Renaissance has been born in your country.... I have carried the manuscript of these translations about with me for days, reading it in railway trains, or on the top of omnibuses and in restaurants, and I have often had to close it lest some stranger would see how much it moved me. These lyrics --- --- which are in the original, my Indians tell me, full of subtlety of rhythm, of untranslatable delicacies of colour, of metrical invention--- display in their thought a world I have dreamed of all my life long" (Tagore 1929:viii, xiii). My father would make me compare the English renderings with their original Bengali to understand the heart-beats of linguistic transference and the subtle lyrical quality that emanates equally from both the versions. To cite an instance:

*Kata ajānāre jānāile tumi,
kata ghare dile thāi--
Dūrke karile nikaṭ, bandhu,
parake karile bhāi /*

কত অজানারে জানাইলে তুমি,
কত ঘরে দিলে ঠাই—
দূরকে করিলে নিকট, বন্ধু,
পরকে করিলে ভাই।

Thou hast made me known to friends whom I knew not;
Thou hast given me seats in homes not my own.
Thou hast brought the distant near
And made a brother of the stranger.(Tagore)

The two versions ripple in impassioned serenity. It is a transcreation of a shared plenitude of meaning. There are three kinds of renderings: (i) transgression, (ii) translation, and (iii) transcreation. Transgression is a poor shadow instead of rich substance. Translation transports the meaning on a grammatical and semantic plane. Transcreation makes meaning great and words small. Tagore transcreates.

Linguistic enrichment of India. My father Prof. RaghuVira had spent long years of his life to arouse the Indian people to the beauties and riches of their languages. The linguistic enrichment of awakened India was his unswerving dedication. He gave to his language around two hundred thousand words. His *Comprehensive English-Hindi Dictionary* stands as a perennial monument to the glory of our emerging languages. The Indian word *Sansad* for Parliament, the term *Vidhān Sabhā* for Legislative Assembly, the expression *Nagarpālikā* for Municipal Committee of a city, are all common currency and are my father's gift to his people. The Czech, Hungarian and other experiences had inspired him in linguistic creativity as an inseparable concomitant of the struggle for political freedom. Like the Czech poet Josef Václav Sládek (1845-1942) he knew for sure:

You remained with us, you sweet tongue
When everything was lost in pain and pressure.

My father was responsible for the establishment of Departments of Language for the development of Indian languages to meet the needs of science and technology, humanities and social sciences. These departments were created in the various States of India and also at the Centre. It reminds us of the 'Translation Hall' in the Ta-tzu-an monastery where the great pilgrim-scholar Hsüan-tsang translated Sanskrit manuscripts

that he had carried back to China via the sands of Central Asia. A vivid description of this Translation Hall was compiled by Ching-mai in A.D. 664. The figures of all the translators of Buddhist texts from Kāśyapa Mātāṅga in A.D. 67 to Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 664 were drawn on the walls of this Hall, along with their biographical notes. Their record entitled *Ku chin i ching t'u chi* 'a record of the pictures of ancient and modern translations of sūtras' can be read in any edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Nj 1487, T 2151, K 1059). It deserves an annotated rendering into English for the history of translation.

Chinese translations from Sanskrit. Our home brimmed with Chinese translations from Sanskrit, treasuring the lost heritage of our land. It was the light of East Asia wherein we could catch a glimpse of our infinity as well. It filled the crevices of our heart with curiosity and we waited with bated breath the day the whole could be re-translated into a modern idiom. The eye has no tongue to this day. The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a fantastic collection of a vast literature that has been the ideographic space, the soul, of China for centuries. The Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka has over 3360 works done from Sanskrit into Chinese. Hundreds of transcreators toiled over a thousand years to achieve this Renaissance. Many scholars from India travelled to China braving all the perils of the sands of Central Asia and the seas of South Asia. Some of the transcreators were destined to lord over the Chinese language, like Kumārajīva (A.D.344-413?). He was the son of an Indian of high birth who settled in Kucha (in Central Asia) and married the sister of the King of Kucha. Kumārajīva spent part of his childhood in Afghanistan and studied with various Hindu philosophers. He afterwards returned to Central Asia and in 401, arrived at Ch'ang-an and devoted himself to translation. No one had ever been so well equipped for the task. He was as much at home in Chinese as in Sanskrit and also possessed very high literary gifts. His translations are rather free, but they are infinitely more agreeable to read than those of Hsüan-tsang, who did not realize that the popular scriptures are literary works intended to make an aesthetic as well as an argumentative appeal. It was difficult to get new translations generally accepted, particularly, in the case of popular scriptures such as the Amitābha Sūtra and the Vimalakīrti which had been translated by Kumārajīva.

Hsüan-tsang (602-664), the Prince of Pilgrims to India, also stands out in the annals of translation. His major translation is the Mahāprajñāpāramitā in 600 fascicles. It is the basis of transcendental philosophy in East Asia. His 'Records of the Western World' are a detailed account of his travels to India. After his return to Ch'ang-an, Hsüan-tsang drew up a report about the assistance he would need in the way of scribes, copyists

and so on. It was forwarded to the Emperor and approved. The board of helpers put at his disposal consisted in the first place of twelve experts in Buddhist literature, from monasteries all over China. Then there were nine 'phrase-collectors' (*chui-wên*) who saw that the synthetical connections of the sentences was intelligible. Among them were Hui-li, the author of Hsüan-tsang's life, and Tao-hsuan, author of another and much earlier biography. The great lexicographer Tao-ying, author of the "Sounds and Meanings in all the Scriptures" (A.D.649) was also there; and finally, the Sanskrit expert Hsuan-mo, who had helped Prabhākaramitra in his translations some fifteen years before.

The Emperor then asked what books he was translating. Hsüan-tsang said that he had just finished the Yoga-śāstra, which was in 100 chapters. "That's a very long book", said the Emperor.... The Emperor said he would like to see the book, and a messenger was sent to fetch it from Ch'ang-an. "Looking at these Buddhist works is like gazing at the sky or sea", the Emperor said later to one of his courtiers. "They are so lofty that one cannot measure their height, so profound that one cannot plumb their depths".

It is interesting to notice that Hsüan-tsang's successor K'uei-chi, when lecturing in 672 and again in 674 in north-eastern China on the Vimalakīrti used Kumārajīva's, and not Hsüan-tsang's, translation as his text. Hsüan-tsang indeed at one moment of his career even tried to prevent people from lecturing on the old translations. The monk Fa-ch'ung, who was about fifteen years his senior, objected to this totalitarian attitude, pointing out that it was on the basis of the old translations that Hsüan-tsang himself had become a monk.

The earliest period of translation from Sanskrit to Chinese runs from the first to the fourth century. Three persons were involved in translation in this period:

- (i) *Chih-pên* read out the original text and explained its meaning.
- (ii) *I-yü* translated the text into Chinese and dictated it to the penman.
- (iii) *Pi-shou* (Chinese penman) polished the style.

Vast experience accumulated over the centuries in the translation of Buddhist texts. Improved methodology demanded more expertise and in the last phase as many as nine translation technicians worked on a single text. A Translation Hall was started by Imperial order in 980 wherein the translator's art saw its final glory. The following nine experts shed light on the translation methodology as evolved by Buddhist masters in tenth century China:

- (i) *I-chu* (translator-in-chief) took his seat at the head and explained the Indian text.
- (ii) *Cheng-i* (examiner of meaning) discussed the sense with the translator-in-chief.

- (iii) *Cheng-wen* (examiner of text) listened carefully to the recitation of the chief translator to assure himself of its correctness.
- (iv) *Shu-tzu*, who could understand the Indian text, also listened to the recitation and wrote down the Chinese transcription of the Indian text.
- (v) *Pi-shou* (penman) took up the transcribed words and translated them into Chinese.
- (vi) *Cho-wen* (text composer) put the Chinese ideographs into syntactical order and composed suitable sentences.
- (vii) *Ts'an-i* compared both the texts and saw that the translation was accurate.
- (viii) *K'an-ting* (vetter) cut off all superfluous expressions and made the style pithy and even.
- (ix) *Jun-wen* (revisor) constantly kept himself in touch with the assembly of listeners.

As Central Asian lands were lost to Buddhism and succumbed to Islam, the mind of India spoke no more to the mind of China. The Buddhist texts done into Chinese came to be the crystalline heart of China. They solidified and symphonised the mind of China with their overwhelming serenity. They had to be eternally alive. During the Northern Ch'i dynasty (550-557) the tradition of engraving them on rock was initiated in various provinces to preserve them for posterity. From A.D. 605 to 1627, tremendous treasure of stone sūtras on 15,143 slabs of stone were stored in the Fang-shan county. The mute stone slabs are eloquent testimony to the artistic calligraphy and consummate carving skills of ancient masters. In the tenth century, abbot Chien-feng organised the Thousand People Society to raise funds for the upkeep of the caves and the Yun-chu monastery at the foot of the hill.

The entry of Buddhist literature into Japan was her identification with the central axis of human advance. It opened up new universes of thought. Buddhist ideas and ideals were enshrined in the alphabet arranged into the Iroha poem, based on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. Two types of Kana syllabaries arose. Universalisation of education followed the new valorisation that every sentient being is a potential Buddha. While the sūtras were read by the Japanese in Chinese, they gave rise to a vast literature in the Japanese language itself, which in turn led to anthologies of ancient poetry.

Tibetan Translations. Magnificent monuments of Indian gnosis and speculation were translated with painstaking accuracy into Tibetan. A new Tibetan literary language was created by the lotsavas out of a primitive dialect. A Royal Commission was constituted to give birth to a sophisticated language. Special rules were promulgated by King Thrisong (Khri-lde-srong-btsan) in A.D. 826. They have been followed ever since. From

the 9th to the 13th century, 4569 works were translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan, collected together in the Kanjur and Tanjur. Little by little a brilliant literature was born. A literary and exegetical movement lit the flame of intellectual life. The aura of this unparalleled transmission is sung in a Tibetan marriage carol. As the bride is led into her new home, her new relations sing: "oh bride bring us auspiciousness as the translators of yore did when they blessed Tibet with the deep dharma". Tibetan translations of thousands of sūtras and their commentaries introduced a renaissance in the Land of Snows.

Mongolian Translations. Under the region of the Yüan Emperor Khaisan Külüg (1308-1311), Chos-kyi-hod-zer started the translation of Buddhist sūtras into Mongolian. Several other literati followed him. In 1628-29 Ligdan Khan commissioned the redaction of "this jewel of the Kanjur translation into Mongolian" and it was written in gold and silver in 113 volumes. The translation was effected from the Tibetan Kanjur by 35 scholars under the supervision of the Kun-dgaḥ-hod-zer mergen manjusiri pandita and of Sidity Anadai. The entire project was completed in two years 1628-1629, at the Qotala bayasqu monastery. The spread of the Ligdan Khan edition was delimited by the stupendous labour involved in preparing its hand copies. It was so rare that its sets found special mention in historical works.

Besides the 108 volumes of the Kanjur, another pearl of the literature of the Mongols is the Tanjur in 226 volumes. The Tanjur contains the translation of Indian texts ranging from profane literature like grammar and prosody to the knowledge centered in the exploration of the Self. One may find here the Kālacakra expressing the inexhaustible wealth of the tantric vision in its last phases in India. We may read the time-honoured Sanskrit grammars in their Mongolian translation besides special treatises on Sanskrit prefixes and declensions. The Mongolian translations of the Amarakośa, Kāvyaadarśa on literary art, the Chando-ratnākara on metrics have influenced the course of Mongolia's literary tradition. The Mongolian Meghadūta takes Kālidāsa to the snowy North. A number of Ayurvedic medical and alchemical texts are a part of this encyclopaedic corpus of Mongolian.

Manchu Translations. The Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian Canons led to its Manchu redaction. The Imperial foreword to the Manchu Tripiṭaka says that the first translation of Buddhist sūtras is in Tibetan, the second in Chinese and the third in Mongolian. Though the Manchu dynasty had ruled over China for a century, how was it possible that there was no Manchu Canon. It points out that the Manchu translation of

the Chinese Canon was undertaken in A.D. 1773 after the Emperor Ch'ien-lung had attained 60 years of age, and that he was apprehensive if he would ever live to see it completed. Two decades later, the Emperor was delighted to see the Manchu Tripiṭaka concluded in A.D. 1790, when he was 80 years of age. His gratitude to Heaven was beyond words: "how fortunate am I that the work has been accomplished in accordance with my wishes".

The Imperial Edict of A.D. 1790 states that princes and dignitaries were delegated to the commission for the Manchu Canon, who were proficient in translation techniques, who could compare the Chinese and Mongolian versions of the Canon, and who could translate them into Manchu. Changcha Hutuktu was commissioned to supervise the project. As a volume was ready, it was revised and finalised, and then readied for printing.

Another fact that emerges is that the Manchu Canon was commenced to commemorate the completion of 60 years of Emperor's life which is the *ṣaṣṭi-pūrti* celebration in India. The Manchu Tripiṭaka was completed when the Emperor had attained the ripe age of 80 years: another landmark in one's life when one becomes a *sahasra-candra-darśī*, that is, 'one who has seen a thousand full-moons'. It may be pointed out that the translation of the Manchu Tripiṭaka had been achieved in a decade, but its consummation was postponed to time with the 80th year of the Emperor. Both the 60th and 80th years are momentous milestones in the fullness of a life span, duly consecrated in the eternity of dharma.

Indonesian Translations. In the 10th century was written the great prose work of Ancient Indonesian, namely, the Mahābhārata. The rendering of the Virāṭa-parva is dated to the 12th of November, A.D. 996. From the Sanskrit quotations interspersed in it, it is clear that it is an adaptation from Sanskrit. A narrative prose of simplicity and lucidity, it is a specimen of common parlance transmuted into the timeless literary genius of the Indonesian tongue. The Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin was based on the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya. Its Kawi author was a prodigy who could transcreate each and every word with a minimum of addition and subtraction, in amazing simplicity of structure and limpid flow of words in Kawi, as compared to the elaborate recondite style of Bhaṭṭi. The Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, has the refinement of diction with an austerity of words, like a Zen painting where the empty white spaces are beauty (*śūnyatā rūpam*), in contra-distinction to Bhaṭṭi's academic exultation in grammar and figures of speech providing joy of erudition to his commentators.

The Indonesian translations must have been preceded by *nissaya*, that is: word-to-word translations of the entire text. Fortunately we have the Indonesian *nissaya* of the Jānakiharaṇa where every Sanskrit word is followed by its Indonesian equivalent. For example, *āsīt dadi*, *avanyām lēmah*, and so on. There are several *nissaya* texts in Srilanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos and Kampuchea, which are indicative of the technique of translation followed in the South East Asian countries. Mr. Punyatmaja Oka, a member of the Parliament of Indonesia and steeped in the oral traditions of Bali, once told me that in ancient Java translation was done by a board of seven members called the *Sapta-seni*. The methodology of translation may be lost, but the extant works in classical Kawi of Indonesia echo levels of literary consciousness and the vigour of silence in their simple and elemental expression, that has the same throbbing substance of life as our own classical literature. We find a similar technique of translation in modern times. Burton Raffel, who has done an *Anthology of Modern Indonesian Poetry* in translation, says: "As editor, I have made it my invariable rule to compare every English version submitted to me with its Indonesian original, line for line and word for word". Yet the warmth, depth and subtle nuances of Bahasa Indonesia pose linguistic barriers. Raffel had to present two English versions of an untitled quatrain of the Indonesian poet Sitor Situmorang (born 1924). He is not sure as to which of them echoes the poet:

Deep in the bottom of the soul is a shallow sky
 Filled with song and sweet words,
 A continent always wrapped in mist,
 Vague, grieving, growing more and more shallow.

(translation by Jean Kennedy)

Deep in heart there is a small country
 Full of songs with sweet words to them,
 A world hidden always by drizzling rain,
 Obscure, coaxing, each day growing smaller.

(translation by Derwent May)

Greek survived because of translation. The Greek language and Hellenic culture of Europe was and is Pagan in content. Both could survive only because of the translation of the Bible. Had the Bible not been done into Greek, classical Greek literature would have disappeared. The first translation of the Bible was the Greek version of the Old Testament from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Because of the legend that it was composed by 70 or 72 scribes under divine inspiration, the version acquired the name

Septuagint. Some sections of the Septuagint are so literal in their rendition of the original that any non-Jew would have difficulty in understanding them, while others adapt the language and even the thought to tastes of Greek readers. Whatever one may think of the Bible's contents, its role in the development of Western culture and in the evolution of many Eastern cultures makes at least some acquaintance with its history an indispensable mark of the educated man in the European world.

In A.D. 529 the Byzantine emperor Justinian I closed the Academy of Plato, and expelled Pagan teachers from the once famous school of philosophy at Athens. An odour of unsanctity clung around the Hellenic relics of the Pagan past. The Greek language lingered on as the language of one of the oldest versions of the Bible, until it became the fountain of nascent youth, beauty and freedom during the Greek revival from the 15th century onwards. Out of Greek Paganism arose an astonishing rejuvenation of the human spirit, inspired by an overwhelming sense of the powers of man exercised through reason and adventure. The movement therefore begat modern science and unlimited claims for the free play of man's creative genius.

The role of *LATIN* in European culture of the first millennium of the Christian era was again due to the translation of the Bible. From the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian it is evident that during the 2nd and 3rd centuries there arose several Latin translations of the Bible. Pope Damasus I commissioned a standardised text. The outcome of this commissioning was the Vulgate, which was the Bible of the Western Church for more than a millennium. The Bible kept Latin alive. Mediaeval students possessed a considerable portion of the Latin classics. But, between them and the text of the poet or historian, hung a veil of misapprehension. The renaissance of the classical Greek and Latin spirit was to give rise to Humanism: human self-esteem, away from the thrall of theological despotism. The *litterae humaniores* were leaning rather to the side of man than of divinity. Thus Shelley could picture man as:

Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
Over himself; just, gentle, wise; but man.

Translation led to the Renaissance. Between the middle of the eighth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the Arabic-writing peoples were the bearers of the torch of culture and civilization, the medium through which ancient Greek science and philosophy were recovered, supplemented and transmitted to make possible the renaissance of Western Europe. The University of Cordova (Spain) included among its

departments astronomy, mathematics and medicine, in addition to theology and law.... At the University of Granada the curriculum comprised theology, jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, philosophy and astronomy. The crowning achievement of the intellectual class of Arabs in Spain was in the realm of philosophic thought. Here they formed the last and strongest link in the chain which transmitted Greek philosophy, as transmuted by them and their Eastern co-religionists, to the Latin West, adding their own contribution, especially in reconciling faith and reason, religion and science. Kindled by contact with Arab thought and quickened by fresh acquaintance with ancient Greek lore, the interest of Europeans in scholarship and philosophy led them rapidly on to an independent intellectual life of their own, whose fruits we enjoy.

Thus translation lay at the root of the survival of the two classical but Pagan languages of Europe. After an expatriation of ten centuries they had become the revitalising faith of a new order, whose children we are.

German arose in Translation. The earliest remnants of a Germanic language are also due to translation. The earliest translation of the Bible into a Germanic language is Ulfilas' translation of the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament into Gothic, done before A.D.381. As in the other Germanic areas the first significant texts in German were a product of the efforts to spread Christianity. The more notable is the Alamannic version (c.800) by Isidore of Seville's *De Fide Catholica* which was probably used as a clerical textbook. The monks struggled to express new concepts in German, first through translation of Latin word lists. But it was Luther who did the actual work of translation. His remarkable handling of the German language, in conformity with the speech of the common people, influenced and shaped the development of modern German. No other Protestant translation into German has been able to compete with the popularity of Luther's Bible, and it is still the official one of German Protestants. An elegant turn of phrase in one language must be transferred into another mode of thought without losing its original meaning. Instead of a word-for-word rendering Luther postulated a translation sense-for-sense.

Slavonic lived by Translation. It was during the reign of Prince Boris (852-889) that the Cyrillic alphabet was created by the brothers Cyril and Methodius, so that in every Bulgarian church the people would hear their own tongue. The German secular and clerical feudal rulers came to regard the work of Cyril and Methodius as a serious obstacle to their policy of assimilation of the Slav tribes. The German clergy brought

forward the reactionary 'three-languages doctrine' according to which Church services be held only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Cyril defended the right of the Slavs to have their own script. Doesn't God send an equal amount of rain to all? And doesn't the sun shine for everybody... How is it that you are not ashamed of recognising only three languages, and of decreeing that all other nations and tribes should be deaf and blind?"

With the instrument of a comprehensible native language Bulgaria accomplished the first leap forward in her cultural development. The first Golden Age of Bulgarian letters was the first Golden Age in the literature of Europe.

In an Old Slavonic church service devoted to Cyril he is referred to in the following words: "You touched the chalice of wisdom with your lips.....shining with reason, you became for the peoples an axe that cuts down evil and every kind of falsehood". Cyril raised the axe of reason against the falsehood of tri-lingual dogma, named 'holy', which sanctified the monopoly of an aristocratic elite against the will of the people. Names like *Theophilus* (Greek) became comprehensible in their Bulgarian rendering *Bogomil*. Cyril and his brother Methodius, who, with all his strength, marched indefatigably by his side, defended the right of the people to have access to books written in their native language.

Old Bulgarian, Old Slavonic, Old Church Slavonic was widely used by Bulgarians, Serbs and Russians in their church services as well as a literary language over the centuries. It was transferred from Bulgaria in the 10th cent. to the Eastern Slavs in Russia, where it absorbed the elements of the Russian language, and in that form it was again transferred back to Bulgaria in the period of Ottoman domination. It kept alive the national spirit of the Bulgarian people in the time of the Byzantine and Ottoman domination. The honouring of Cyril and Methodius by assigning them a special holiday has played an important role in the history of the Bulgarian people. The great Bulgarian poet and revolutionary Hristo Botev said that the important work of Cyril and Methodius is "the beginning of that famous Slavonic culture, the memory of which unites and inspires all Slavs". To this day, the Bulgarians celebrate the Day of the Alphabet in May, as the great jewel of their centuries.

English prose develops by Translation. English prose owes in abundant measure to King James or Authorized Version of 1611. The Hampton Court Conference in 1604, proposed a new translation of the Bible, and 54 translators were to undertake the work, at Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster. The translators' principles were important: The Bishops' Bible was to be altered as little as possible, though earlier versions, were to be consulted; the old "ecclesiastical words" (as "church" for

"congregation" and "charity" for "love") were to be kept. It is difficult to exaggerate the influence of this translation, which came to be known as the Authorized Version because it was "Appointed to be read in Churches" (in the United States it is more commonly called the King James version). It established the rhythms of spoken English as the standard for English prose; it gave a pattern of great variety, from bare clarity to the ornate parallelism of Hebrew poetry; it avoided uniform literalness of translation in favour of a rich use of synonym. It is more than a classic of English literature to be cherished and admired.

By 1960 parts of the Bible had been translated into 1,151 languages, including the entire Bible in 219 languages. As the earliest versions can be dated back to the 3rd century B.C., the tradition of biblical translation is more than 2,000 years old. Even the most faithful rendering could create diversities of exegesis that might lead to diversity of religious views and destroy the unity of the religious community. Such questions have played their part in the history of biblical translation, and the conviction that certain versions of the Bible contradicted tradition and were therefore heretical led of necessity to the prohibition of some and the authorization of other translations.

Translation: the haunting light and music of words. Augustine maintained that the translator who is not inspired should be "in servitude to the words".

Hilaire Belloc's advice: "Transmute boldly: render the sense by the corresponding sense without troubling over the verbal difficulties in your way".

In a translation, neither should the meaning bleed nor the sense suffer. Nobel Laureate Mikhail Scholokhov's *Tixii Don* literally rendered would be 'Quiet Don' (*tixii* 'quiet, calm, low'). But its English transcreation is entitled 'And Quiet Flows the Don': what an eloquent flow. Translation has to be a shared order of intellectual and cultural plenitude. If the translator has any obligation towards society, it is to translate well. A limp and listless translation loses the very structure and spirit. He has to be the shadow *en passant* in his effortless innocence to restructure the haunting light and music of words. Failing this duty, he sinks into oblivion.

9. INDIA AND WORLD LITERATURE

Roots and laurels, life and land, time and vision, creations and continuities: from them arose the literature of India. It was the purest voice of her deeps, the dream of her reason, the dust of her ways and the waters of her rivers, the blue embrace of her seas and skies, born of leaves soaked in the dew of dawns since the days of the Ṛgveda. On the other hand, modern civilisation has its cradles of brick and mortar. The blue incense of heart and word reverberates into *Agni*, the fire of our being, determining the dynamism of becoming. *Agni* is the very first word of the Ṛgveda, the very first work of Indo-European languages. In Minkowski's phenomenology, *Agni* becomes a participation in a flowing onward. The waves thus generated, which at once are sonorous and silent, become the voice of a poet on the threshold of being.

The first echoes of India in the Hellenic world are in Homer in the eighth century B.C. Homer's epic poem had inspired the young prince Alexander, before power became his life-long mistress. There was no sharp distinction in the Greek mind between myth and history. The gods lived on in Greek minds, unfolding ever new adventures. The tutor of Alexander was Aristotle himself. A kinsman of Aristotle, Kallisthenes, accompanied Alexander on his expedition to India. Sir William suggests that through him, the Nyāya system of logic influenced Aristotle. The philosopher Pythagoras, who swayed Greek intellectual life from the 6th century B.C. onwards, transmitted Indian ideas. It was commonly held among the Greeks that India was the land of wisdom; for instance by the noted author Alexander Polyhistor (ca 70 B.C.), Apuleius (ca.150 A.D.) and Philostratos (early 3rd century). The popular satirist Lukianos (Lucian, 2nd century A.D.), in his "Runaways", lets the Goddess of Philosophy tell Jupiter that she first descended upon "the Indians, the mightiest nation upon earth". The legend of Alexander and the Brahmins exemplified the changing attitudes in the Hellenic world: wise men outweigh political persons. The interflow of literary ideas and motifs between India and the Hellenic world was a continuous process.

The rebirth of pagan antiquity in 15th century Italy was the restoration of the memory and imagination of European man. Renewal and reason became catalysts for a new world order. The Renaissance arose from the mythical deeps of European time. The first mention of Europe is in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* in the 8th century B.C. The word 'Europe' itself was born out of the myth of the young princess Europa who was carried away by Zeus disguised. Zeus was worshipped as the master of gods and men throughout the entire Hellenic world. The origin of Zeus was unknown to the Greeks

themselves. Europe had to wait for 2,300 years to know the origins of Zeus, when Sanskrit was discovered by Sir William Jones in the February of 1786 as "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity". Three years later (1789) Jones translated the drama *Śākuntala* by Kālidāsa into English. It awakened the highest degree of enthusiasm of leading poets of Germany like Herder and Goethe. In 1802 the German poet Friedrich Schlegel expected from India "the unfolding of the history of the primaeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness". The Indo-European roots of Europe became her new vitality.

For centuries, European grammarians had been trying to find the etymologies of Greek and Latin words like *theos*, *divine* from Semitic roots, but in vain. They came to be discovered in 1816 when Franz Bopp published his comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian and German languages. His scientific investigations laid the firm foundations of the concept of 'evolution' of languages. Three decades later appeared the great Sanskrit-German Dictionary from Leningrad, and 'evolution' within language had been firmly established. This linguistic concept of 'evolution' dominated the intellectual climate of Europe. Out of it was to come Darwin's theory of organic evolution, in the *Origin of Species* which was published seven years after the Sanskrit-German Dictionary. The linguistic transparency of Sanskrit thus gave birth to the scientific concept of Evolution.

The early 19th century was involved with Roots. The discovery of Sanskrit as the prime language and its development led several nations to realise the primacy of their languages. The National Revival in Czechoslovakia, from about 1775 to 1850, was a great social movement characterised above all by a national consciousness on the part of the people, and a drive for economic and cultural independence. Feudalism was abolished in 1781. As a result, former serfs could now move to the towns and their children could study. Around this time Dobrovsky (1753-1829) wrote a definitive grammar of Czech, the language of his people. The existence of linguistic connection between Czech and the ancient and perfect Sanskrit was a great encouragement to the oppressed nation in its efforts to improve its language. Czechs pointed out the close affinity of their language with Sanskrit. They cited the sentence: *stara matra dati medu* (Czech) = *sthavirā mātā dadāti madhu* (Sanskrit). Thus were laid the foundations of modern Czech literature.

The Bulgarians were also inspired by the fact that their language was closer to Sanskrit than any language known to them. In the 9th century Cyril had declared "The people are naked without books". To remedy it, the brothers Cyril and Methodius created

the Cyrillic script for the Bulgarian language. The dedicated work of Cyril and Methodius triumphed in the use of old Bulgarian as a language of the church. A thousand years later in the 19th century, Rakovsky, a pioneer of Bulgarian independence, celebrated the rising tide of Bulgarian self-assertion in the Day of Script and Literature. It continues to be held to this day. Rakovsky prided in the connection of Bulgarian and Sanskrit: OB. *synu* was exactly Sanskrit *sūnu*, OB. *dini* was Sanskrit *dina*, and OB. *trichu* preserved the declensional suffix of Skt. *triṣu*. This sensitivity was voiced in poignant words by the late Mrs. Lyudmila Zhivkova: "Here, on Indian land, Thracian art feels more at home than anywhere else outside of Bulgaria. Here one can tangibly feel the parallel, the similarity, and the generic closeness in the symbolic nature of Thracian and Indian art during the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C., the closeness between the symbols, imagery, and ideas in the thinking of Thracians and the people of Bharat, their common belief in the unity of the world". The rise of modern Bulgarian literature was a concomitant of the new self-respect that the Bulgarian language gained in the preceding century.

Let us come back to Asia. For a thousand years the most brilliant minds of China transcreated Buddhist literature from Sanskrit into Chinese. About 3,000 works have come down to us, alive in the stream of life. It is a complex flow from sign to eye, from eye to world: the aroma of an entire civilisation is deeply affected. Hsüan-tsang the Prince of Pilgrims to India, translated into Chinese the Prajñāpāramitā in 600 scrolls. To give an idea of its immensity, I may quote the price of its modern reproduction which is Rs.1,12,000. Majority of the sūtras were engraved on stone over a period of one thousand years (A.D. 605-1627) for conservation.

The entry of Buddhist literature into Japan was their identification with the central axis of human advance. The new voice was a unity of man, nature, art and divine where echoes of each were repeated at different levels of consciousness. Buddhism opened up unfathomed universes of thought. They developed counterpoints of stimulating intuitions in the writings of Japanese masters. Under the impetus of Buddhist culture, all the poetry that had been written in Japan up to the 8th century was made accessible in the anthology of *Manyōshū* "Collection of Myriad Leaves". The Japanese alphabet *Iroha* is a Buddhist poem based on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra:

Iro ha nihohedo chiri nuru wo!

Colours, gleam as they may,

How they blow away !

Waga yo tare so tsune naramu

Who in this world of ours lasts for aye ?

Wuwi no oku-yama kyo koete
 The deep mountains of ephemeral life
 We 've crossed this day,
Asaki yume miji ehi mo sezu,
 No more shallow dreams we see
 Nor shall we inebriate be.

Japanese dictionaries are quite often arranged according to the Iroha poem, and thus it is integral to Japanese education. The whole art of Japanese poetry is saturated with Zen that emphasises the significance of *mu-shin* or 'no-mind' where we find infinite treasures of the Collective Conscious and Cosmic Conscious. Basho one of the greatest of Japanese poets, is touched by the fleeting perfume of life. In this haiku poems curves have to become angles, but it is like a small stone basin that contains water to rinse and purify one's mouth before entering a temple. The poesy of Saigyō (1118-90) celebrates ethereal beauty and meta-phenomenal existence wherein the Buddhist valorisation of nature is evident. A verse of Saigyō on hermit's hut is a celebration of the poet's almost erotic rendezvous with moonlight, that drips in through the torn and tumbledown hut of grass:

So I spend the night
 In bed with the moon,
 That steals in through the gaps
 In my little hut's reed roof.

The union of the poet and moon is the fragility and permeability of life. Wooed by the wind the petals fall: *kaze sasou hana no yukue wa*. The phenomenal forms are the very being of the Absolute. The bold simplicity and essential structure of Japanese literature has an inner, guiding force that echoes forms and fantasies of India.

Tibetan translations of thousands of sūtras and their commentaries introduced a renaissance in the Land of Snows, which was a marvel in the unending exploration of the transcendent and the transitory. From the feel of her shadows and the voices of her spaces, have sprung the literatures in Mongolian and Manchurian languages: the holy Kanjur and Tanjur. As the young generation of Europe and America seeks new syndromes, the multiple expressions of Tibetan literature become the new bread of their being.

From the snowy north to the sunny and languid climes of South East Asia. Alongside the spacious majesty of Borobudur or Angkor Vat, where monument follows on monument, masonry masses mingle into fantastic flowering of the jungle, or pagodas

moulder in picturesque decay, are thousands of poems and prose works, forgotten in palmleaf manuscripts. The Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin in ancient Indonesian, though based on the terse and obtruse Sanskrit Bhaṭṭikāvya, has become the frozen music of words in the flow of the genius of the Indonesian poet Yogīśvara. To this day it is in the deeps of the Indonesian soul. Quickened and kindled by inspiration from India, Srilanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, Indonesia and other countries of South East Asia have developed their independent intellectual life, with patterns of great variety to be cherished and admired.

The friendship of peoples also vibrates in the rich and brilliant vocabulary of cognate words, words which are historic arabesques in our context: a simple Sanskrit word *etat* 'this' lives to this day in Russian as *yetot*, *madhu* as *myod* 'honey', *māṁsa* as *myaso* 'meat'. In the end of the last century, Slavonic languages were striving to gain their position against French and German, which were then languages of the nobility and the intelligentsia, of status and science. In this struggle, the Slavonic tongues realised that they were closer to Ancient India than any other European language and hence as respectable as any. In their evening shadows they had found a thundering voice in Sanskrit, a new right to be full-fledged languages.

The great Mauryan emperor Aśoka sent missionaries all over the then-known world to spread the gospel of Peace and Compassion. Today indefatigable friends have brought together minds from several nations to ponder over shared horizons, as we seek investiture in the subtle and tender summons of life and letters, to be at the primal source of all with which the coming century shall flower.

*

You have sung songs to India, offered bouquets of flowers to her, and spoken of the liquid, spherical magical transformations that have taken place during the last two hundred years in the emerging family of Man. We have pondered over the epic halo of the creation of a world that must belong to all. Out of constant deliberations alone man will be ready to continue his journey with a firm grip on the truth of his oneness, cleansed of the darkness of divisions and the terror of his being torn. We have perhaps tried to make things whole again. We have to share every fragment of life. After five short days of trying to name elements of commonality, we shall part. We shall carry in our minds that we are pilgrim beings in quest of the splendour of Man. Our Earth has held, holds, and will hold the voices of thinkers, writers and poets deep within, where it is purest. Truth and freedom, peace and happiness shall be the brilliant heritage of all men. Out of formlessness may emerge our sound, grace and rapture of the essence of the future. Your

learned and at times sensitive contributions crystallise and radiate a light filled with grace and an air of spring. The spring is rebellious and life transcends all structures.

The last two centuries enshrine the brilliant scholarship and substantive resolve of minds to explore the immensity and unity of life. In the last five days we have continued this pilgrimage in quest of a vision of humaneness, humanism and humanity thrilled with light. Words carve images of life and through their disguise is the future filled with light. They unite us with the subconscious down in the silent geographies of the mind. In the simple vastness of this catalysis will be born the minds and horizons, the delicacies and dreams of a shared order of cultural plenitude.

10. DANCE: THE DIVINE ART

Dance is the perfume and the dew of the kingdom of the revealed heart. It is the heart of heaven, or to borrow a Japanese expression *tenshin* (*ten* 天 'heaven', *shin* 心 'heart'). Transcendental and lyrical it is the fifth Veda, the Nāṭyaveda devised by Brahmā. In the Silver Age (Tretā-yuga) when Vaivasvata Manu reigned, people were swayed by the senses. Brahmā concentrated in yoga and trans-created the senses into the fifth Veda of Nāṭya conducive to values and wealth, dharma and artha. He took recitation from the R̥gveda, singing from the Sāma-veda, abhinaya from the Yajur-veda and rasa from the Atharva-veda. After the creation of the Nāṭyaveda, Brahmā instructed Indra to get it enacted by skillful, learned and industrious gods. Ever since dance has been, in India, the enlivening movement of the Absolute. It is life and the yonder expressed in muscular movement. Dance is a translatative engine of energy. Socrates danced for exercise. In its higher reaches it is a poetry of motion, the 'silent poetry' of Simonides. It combines worship, drama, play and art. Pythagorean mysticism finds in dance a replica of the movements of the stars in their cosmos. It is at once a servant of Apollo and of Dionysus, an expression of the most solemn and of the most playful of human emotions. It is the continuity of the body in Joy, in Ānanda. When hymns go to sleep in the inner being of Man, the aching overflow of transcendent splendour breaks into turbulent movement and dance is born.

Sage Bharata is the author of the Nāṭya-śāstra. The word *bharata* has many meanings and it also means an actor or dancer. Bharata is also the celebrated son of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, the first of Twelve Cakravartins or universal monarchs. From him is derived Bhārata our name for India. When the Tibetans started the translation of Sanskrit literature into their language, they created a new terminology. Bhārata, the name for India was translated as *Rgya-gar* (pronounced Gyagar) which means the 'Land of Dance'. To rejoice in life, to find the world beautiful and delightful to live in, was a mark of the Indian spirit before she had known cultural aggression. Thus the very name of our beloved country enshrines Dance.

Dance is integral to life, to love, to passion, to creation. The male bird of several species dances before the female to produce tumescence both in himself and in her. Whether in bird and or in man, dance is instinctive: passion throbbing to create life. When life is threatened, then come war dances. Martial dances are not only a drill and a rehearsal of attack, but are also performed to combat supernatural influences. By bread must man live; and in its wake come agricultural dances to ward off blight, bad weather

and infertility. To substantiate into the structure of the Supreme, come religious dances as worship, as incantation, and as moments of vibrant dedication of the self to the Supreme Self. The limited mind of man dancing into God's unfathomable tumultuous dream. Ravishing movements to seek sans end: a vigorous dancing prayer to Him, to find Him nowhere, and yet to go on. In India, man is removed from God without dance. The practice of dancing was forbidden in Christianity by the Council of 692.

The word *nṛti* 'dancing' occurs in the Ṛgveda. The Ṛgveda has *nṛtu* for a 'dancer' and it serves as an adjective of gods like Indra, Aśvins and Maruts who are 'dancing, gesticulating, lively'. Dance is divine, the fullness of its overflow. Dance is a spontaneity that grasps Truth and Beauty in such a way that not only the content but also the structure of consciousness is changed. The verb *abhinī*, from which is derived *abhinaya*, means 'to bring near, to lead to' and it is as ancient as the Ṛgveda. Abhinaya is that magic touch of the beautiful that leads to the vibration of the secret cords of our being. As Bharata muni says: it accords with the order of the world, with its weal and woe, and it consists in arts of expression (*abhinaya*) that lead to philosophy, Epic and the Veda. It depicts the drama of the Divine on this earth as the human actor himself becomes divinised (*na adevo devam arcayet*). We vibrate and thrill in response to the Call, incarnated in the human dancer. The more human the call the deeper is our response, and then: the eyes have no tongue. The experience induced by *abhinaya* is beyond words.

Gaṇapati, the Lord (*pati*) of categories (*gaṇa*), the auspiciousness at every beginning, who hallows every home and every sanctum, brings all Joy as Nṛtya-Gaṇapati/Gaṇeśa, the eight-armed dance-manifestation. Dance-manifestations of gods, their *nṛtya-mūrti*, are an essential feature of Hinduism, for they are higher states of vitality that manifest vistas of the unbounded ocean of consciousness. In Greece, the ecstatic worship of Bacchus and Cybele amounted to something like the turbulent waves of the sea. The *nṛtya-mūrti* of Kṛṣṇa Nṛtya-Gopāla 'The Dancing Cowherd', Navanīta-nṛtta-Kṛṣṇa are well known in the art of India: Divine in the beauty of motion. This *ludens* facet has fascinated the Indian cultural ethos in an undying way. Even to this day the once-Hindu and now-Muslim Indonesia has names that recall this aspect. I have an Indonesian friend named Harimurti Kridalaksana. Greatest, of course, is Śiva Nāṭarāja, the Lord of Dance, as manifestation of primal rhythmic energy. His *nāḍānta* dance in the golden hall of Chidambaram, the centre of the universe, reduces entire existence into His perpetual dance. Dancing, Nāṭarāja sustains the phenomenal world.

Kṛṣṇa is famous for his hallīsaka dance. The etymology of this word is unknown. It may be cognate to Hellas 'Greece'. Hallīsaka (with the dental sibilant) also recalls to us the ancient city of Eleusis, famous as the site of the Eleusinian mysteries, with its Kallichoron Well, the Well of Beautiful (*kalli-*) Dances (*choron*), mentioned in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. To the west of Eleusis lay the Rharian plain where Demeter sowed the first seeds of corn. Kṛṣṇa as Gopāla also represents agrarian traditions. Hallīsaka can go back to the Eleusinian mysteries or to the cult of the Thracian Nature-God Dionysus (alias Bacchus) which gave a dominant role to women, and it provided a vent for the irrational passions of the subconscious depths of the psyche. A Bacchanalian group has actually been discovered from Mathura wherein the drapery of the Yakṣī's is Greek.

The angels are always dancing. Heavenly musical instruments are played to which heavenly apsaras dance in Sukhāvātī the resplendent Western Paradise of Amitābha. The Sukhāvātī paradise has been painted all over Central Asia and East Asia, for the last two millenia. Some of the finest murals at Tun-huang (the Ajanta Caves of China) are of dancing goddesses in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. These dancing angels are Indian for they wear no raiments on top. Tun-huang caves show three types of female dresses: the flowing drapery of Chinese ladies, the tight wear of Central Asian beauties and the sensuous elegance of the bare bodies of Indian belles who bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.



Sketch of a dancing scene in Sukhāvātī in Tun-huang Cave 113 of the 8-9th century

The dancing beauties in the innermost sanctum of Aurangabad Caves celebrate the sacred in the joy of life, *joie de vivre*. Dance melts the tenacious physical incantations into the secure destiny of Sukhāvati.

The Indian mind has always felt the beauty of ascent and cadence in the graceful circles and curves of dance, intensified by the use of music. Even in the highly complex maṇḍalas of Tantric Buddhism, which were means of re-integration into Cosmic Consciousness, the goddesses Lāsyā, Nṛtyā, Vādyā and Gītā are represented. Without them the awakening of the heart of enlightenment (bodhi-citta) would not be possible. Dancing is a prime human expression of the sense of rhythm, of eternal movement, of cosmic creativity, of *ṛta* of the Ṛgveda.



NR the bijākṣara or nuclear syllable of Nṛtyā the Goddess of Dance in the Japanese Kongōkai mandara or Vajradhātu maṇḍala introduced from China to Japan by Holy Kōbō-daishi in A.D. 806.

As the prima ballerina Sonal Mansingh, who has danced Odissi into the heart of India, celebrates a decade of the glorious functioning of her Centre for Indian Classical Dances, a few words about this mode. The Odissi is lyrical and sensuous in its tribhaṅgī and atibhaṅgī, in tune with the mellifluous traditions of Jayadeva (ca. 1150-1210) who introduced Rādhā in all the rapture of poetry and song wedded in the Gīta-govinda. In Orissa is one of the earliest references to dance in the inscription of Khāravela in the second century B.C. who arranged tāṇḍava and abhinaya for his people. It was a continuous tradition. Coḍa-gaṅgadeva (1077-1147) constructed the temple of Jagannātha at Puri and employed mahārīs in the naṭa-mandira for the propitiation of the Lord. The dance of the devadāsī was an inherent component of worship in India. In the seventh century on the frontiers of the-then India, the Daughters of Dance at the Buddhist monastery of Nav Bahar, as well as the statues of goddesses of dance (like Nṛtyā, Lāsyā, Gītā, Vādyā) were renowned for their grace. The abbots of this monastery were known as Barāmika or Barmecides, from their Sanskrit title *pramukha*. Till yesteryears, the dancing-girls in Egypt called themselves *barmakī* and claimed to be descendants of the devadāsīs of the Nav Bahar of the Barmecides. East Iranian literature retained poignant memories of the dancing beauties of Nav Bahar, upto the time of Yāqūt in the

13th century. Here Deva and devadāsī were the intense joy and harmony of the serene mind which is beyond measure.

The rich temple sculpture of Orissa conserves the dance poses of Odissi. A great part of the vocabulary of Odissi dance has been inspired by Konarka and other visual representations. Its foremost treatise is the *Abhinaya-candrikā* of Maheśvara Mahāpātra, written at the court of Anaṅga-bhīmadeva, to celebrate the human and divine, in the dance of the human soul which yearns to become united with the Divine Lover in the ecstasies of another plane, the supra-terrestrial one, to the eternal Vrindavan, which is no more the holy earth near Mathura, but a celestial sphere. From the flux of movements to the immutable beyond, as the dancing feet of the danseuse wound even the heart of the hollow wind with the tinkle of golden bells. From *śoka* to *śloka*.

11. INDIA'S THOUGHT AND HUMAN DESTINY

India's thought is cradled in nature. The thought of India arose on the banks of rivers. The substance of their rushing torrents became the flowing dynamism of the Indian world-view. Dynamism and Destiny mingled in the unity of time. Yesterdays were inspiration, todays action, and tomorrows a dream. Nāgārjuna says: 'standing time does not exist' (*sthitāḥ kālo na vidyate*). India's vision was a continuing reincarnation, ever a new order; ever new, never static. We sought a clue in a unified flow of cosmic power in making up a single verse of the universe: Life. *Prāṇo vai virāt* "Life is immense".

Logic and aesthetics. India's thought summed up knowledge both in logic and aesthetics: on the one hand in a cathedral of thought and definitions, and on the other in a world of imagery and poetry. On our soil stand sculptures and monuments that are syllogisms in stone: symbolic tangents of what took place in the secret gardens of human ideas and emotions.

Reason and continuing renewal. In Indian thought, logic and light were dynamic correlates. Nyāya was one of the six systems of classical philosophy to organise views rationally and systematically. Its culmination was Navya-Nyāya or 'New Logic' which was "a school of analysis as rigorously rational and unswayed by emotion or mystical experience as the analytic schools of the modern West" (Daniell H.H. Ingalls). It is one of the reasons that led to the acceptance and dissemination of Science in India in the 19th century while stormy controversy dominated the intellectual scene in Europe over Darwin's theory of organic evolution.

Common man. The common man has constituted a major factor in the evolution of thought. Some of our early anthologies contain poems by persons from all walks of life and from all sections of society. Among the Sangam poets are farmers, women, hillmen, foresters, herdsmen, merchants, agricultural labourers, shepherds, potters, fishermen and the like. The philosophical heritage of India fostered universal values, woven in a synthesis of the best.

The commonest of the people have been participants in the highest realms of thought. Texts on logic explain abstruse conceptions in terms of the potter and the weaver. The pot and cloth, *ghaṭa* and *paṭa*, constitute the warp and weft of causation and perception. Every person is Consciousness Supreme lapsed in time and space. The

ageless epics of India have knit the country over long spans of time and vast spaces of our land, into an unbroken creative intensity. The distant resplendence and obscurity of the thinker has become the mysterious purity of the moonlight that has shed lustre in the humblest of homes.

This intertwining of thought and its percolation to the common man has been the continuity of India, her eternal paradigm. India's thinkers have dreamt with open eyes. Unity of a vision (*darśana*) has emerged from experience (*sādhana*). Individual experiences have been deposited in the collective psyche to appear in a single flux, to become a hymn of the common man.

Prof. Giuseppe Tucci, a recipient of the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding, has summed up Indian thought in the following words: "This also means an ideal of the complete, whole man, who lives in time but is ready to take flight and fly up out of time, like the superman who, after so much love and sorrow, appears suddenly like a mirage, smiling at the grief-stricken Chandidas:

Sabār ūpar mānush; tāhār ūpar koi nai

Man stands above all things; and above him there is no one.

That is why the Buddha can only be born among men. Indian thought is evidence of an extreme fairness of judgement. There are some who, unaware of this, have stated that the law of the karma is a sort of destiny which fatally links the present with the past; but this means forgetting the other wonderful theme of the *puruṣakāra*, man's activity which is able to transform the influence of karma".

Indian thought has affected the aroma of human destiny. The many philosophical systems of India have affected the aroma of human destiny. In turn, they have been enriched by these contacts.

The various systems of Indian speculation have been encoded into visual monuments in India as well as outside. In their spacious majesty of South East Asia, monument follows on monument, masonry masses mingle into fantastic flowering of the jungle, or pagodas moulder in picturesque decay.

Indian philosophical texts have been translated for the last two thousand years in several parts of the world. In history, they have been rendered into the languages of Indonesia, Srilanka and other countries of South East Asia. Beyond our northern frontiers, they have been translated with painstaking accuracy into Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Manchu. The introduction of Zen thought into China and thence to Japan, still lives. India emerged for the East what Greece was for the West: the birthplace of

philosophical ideas, an influence of logic and light. At the same time, since the days of the R̥gveda we have held that may noble thoughts come to us from everywhere. The Tamil poet-sage had set to "pour the contents of the seven seas" into his classic. The great Avvaiyar has said "Cross the far-flung seas". India has been open to new ideas, and to winds of change in the onward march of man. Indian thought has been open and ventilated.

The tutor of Alexander was Aristotle himself. A kinsman of Aristotle, Kallisthenes, accompanied Alexander on his expedition to India. Sir William suggests that through him, the Nyāya system of logic influenced Aristotle. The philosopher Pythagoras, who swayed Greek intellectual life from the 6th century B.C. onwards, transmitted Indian ideas. It was commonly held among the Greeks that India was the land of wisdom; for instance by the noted author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 70 B.C.), Apuleius (ca. 150 A.D.) and Philostratos (early 3rd century). The popular satirist Lukianos (Lucian, 2nd century A.D.), in his "Runaways", lets the Goddess of Philosophy tell Jupiter that she first descended upon "the Indians, the mightiest nation upon earth".

Genoese merchants secured Mongol slaves from traders wholesaling in the Black Sea ports (Lazari, *Del traffico e delle condizionale degli shiavi in Venezia nel tempe di mezzo*, 1862, 1.470). Thousands of these "Tartar" slaves worked in every major Italian city, which reached its climax in the middle of the 15th century. These Buddhist slaves used hot-air turbines for turning their prayer-cylinders. This gave rise to screw propeller of ships, and steam-jet blowers dateable to 1579.

Ideas in the flow of future events. Ideas have a home in the heart of man. Let them not bring sorrow and suffering. We need words of universal validity.

While we are contemporaries of the Stone Age people, the Vedic sages, mediaeval saints and electronic engineers, we have to arouse cross-cultural sensitivities and to achieve the break-down of historical myths. New frames of mind have to be created and each moment has to be its beginning. Life has to cease to be a second edition of bygone paradigms. Living and being have to be conditioned by the future flow of events. India's perennial philosophy summons minds from several nations to ponder over shared horizons, as we seek investiture in the subtle and tender summons of life and letters, to be at the primal source of all with which the coming century shall flower.

12. ELLORA AS ŚŪNYATĀ AND RŪPAM

Cave: syllogism of the soul. The earliest humans lived in caves. The walls of caves were the first effort of man at visual art. Long after they are not needed for habitation, their great caverns draw men to their depths and stir the spirit as well as the eye.

What a dream to be here, in the śūnyatā and rūpam of the caves of Ellora, grooved by the gods, syllogisms in stone, symbolic tangents of what took place in the secret gardens of human ideas and ideals: *dharmasya tattvaṃ nihitaṃ guhāyām*. The cave is a womb for illumination, the away from the world to attain transcendence. The Sanskrit word for cave *guhā* is from the root *guh* 'to conceal, keep secret', *guhya* 'concealed, secret, mysterious'. In the R̥gveda 10.45.2 *guhā* (short instrumental case form) means geheim' (PW): *vidma te nāma paramaṃ guhā yat*. The Atharvaveda 11.5.10 *guhā nidhi nihitau brāhmaṇasya*, which means that the treasures of sacred lore of a brahmin are hidden in a Cave. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 11.2.6.5 equates the *guhā* with the heart: *tasmād idam guheva hṛdayam*. In the Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad 3.20 the macrocosmic and microcosmic soul resides in the *guhā* or depths of being (*aṇor aṇīyān mahato mahīyān ātmā guhāyām*). In a cave, psyche finds the hidden that smiles in its dream of deep meditation. The cave is called a *guhā* as the categories of knower, knowledge, and knowable are hidden herein, or the soul secrets in it (*gūḍhā jñātr-jñāna-jñeya-padārthāḥ asyām, gūhate 'syām ātmā iti vā*, Vācaspatya lexicon). Jñānaguhā is a name of Prakṛti in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa 3.26.5. Bhāgavata-purāṇa 2.9.24 says: The Divine Being, the Lord of all beings dwells in the *guhā* (*Bhagavān sarva-bhūtānām adhyakṣo 'vasthito guhām*). Brahma resides in the *guhā*, the supreme space (*brahma yo veda nihitaṃ guhāyām parame vyoman*: Indische Studien 2.217). Guharāja is the best temple-form in Varāhamihira's Br̥hat-saṃhitā 56.18.25. *Guhā* is the angelic guardian of a person and hence the name Guhagupta for a bodhisattva in the Mahāvvyutpatti and the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra. Divinities are located in a cave within a stūpa. In sādhanā 191 of the Sādhnamālā 2.394 the goddess Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā sits in a cavern in the caitya (*caitya-guhā-garbha-sthitā*). Cave is the solitary vision beyond reflections, where time falls into the timeless. The solemnity of its original silence---deep, dark, oneiric, unfathomable--- has so many lessons for meditation. We are hypnotised by solitude, hypnotised by the gaze in a solitary cave. The intimacy of concentration therein leads us to the light on the far horizon that we realise as nothing but:

O Licht in schlafenden Haus. (Richard von Schaukal)

'O Light in the sleeping house'.

The Cave transcends into the beyond: moments of repose become the breath of transcendence. The cave is:

A house that stands in my heart
My cathedral of silence.

*Une maison dressée au coeur
Ma cathédrale de silence.*

(Jean Laroche, *Mémoires d'été*, p.9)

Caves as the earliest Buddhist monuments. It was the Buddhists who first carved rock temples and monasteries (Burgess 7).

Caves form the most ancient Buddhist monuments of Srilanka. The early Brahmi inscriptions of Srilanka are all found in caves. 1234 inscriptions are inscribed in caves which are mostly natural rock shelters, slightly enlarged and improved by human effort. They are edited in the first volume of Paranavitana's *Inscriptions of Ceylon*. Though brief, they are the earliest records indispensable for the culture of the Island. Among them are inscriptions of the reign of Uttiya, the younger brother of Devānampiya Tissa, in whose reign Buddhism was introduced into Srilanka. Inscription no.251 records that the cave at Ritigala was made at the expense of ten thousand. This indicates that donation of caves must have been a highly meritorious act. The endowment of caves goes back to the third century B.C. (Paranavitana 1970: cxxii). The role of caves in Buddhist praxis deserves a detailed study.

The Ming-oi caves at Kizil were commenced in the second century A.D. They have motifs similar to themes at Bamiyan. The first cave of Mo-kao-k'u at Tun-huang was excavated in A.D.366: "An inscribed stone tablet of the T'ang dynasty, preserved at Ch'ien Fo Tung, states that the first chapel - the 'Cave of Unequaled Height' - was constructed by an Indian monastic, called Lo Ts'un, in what corresponds to A.D.366. The name of this earliest chapel, in Chinese Mo Kao K'u, is now often used to designate the site of Ch'ien Fo Tung, although it is not known whether what is now the highest of the cave-chapels is actually the one first excavated by Lo Ts'un" (Vincent 1953:14). The hundreds of unpainted caves at Tun-hung must have been the meditation retreats of monks.

Bamiyan is honey-combed with scores of rock-cut caves, monastic cells and sanctuaries, the earliest of which go back to the 3-4th century. Interior galleries give access to the heads of the Colossal Buddhas (175 feet and 120 feet) which are dated to

the 5-7th centuries. Hsüan-tsang saw them in A.D.632. Small caves without murals or reliefs should have served as places for austere meditation.

In Tibet, there are caves near monasteries for meditation-retreats. The first cave of Ellora has no sculptures. Why? It was intended for meditation. On the other hand, the rock-cut caves with relief and full sculptures served as worship-chapels for the laity as well as for the monks.

Paintings or sculptures in Buddhist centres. The paintings or sculptures in the cave-sanctuaries or monasteries were intended to attract devotees. The translation of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya-vibhaṅga* was completed by I-ching on 17 Nov. 703 A.D. (K 891) the same day as we convene here at Ellora. In this it is enjoined that pictorial representations of the *jātakas* should embellish monastic interiors. It is narrated in the *Vinaya* that Anāthapiṇḍada wanted to decorate the walls of the Jetavana vihāra which he was about to offer to the Buddha. The monks did not know what to do. The Buddha said that a single colour should not be employed, but all the four kinds of colours. When Anāthapiṇḍada had commissioned the painters they asked him "what should we represent". The Buddha said: "at the entrance portal a yakṣa holding a daṇḍa, in the vestibule the Grand Miracle and the Wheel of Existence in five gati, and in the cloister the garland of *jātakas* (*Jātaka-mālā*), and" While the painters worked, the monks washed near the frescos bespattering and splashing at them. They made fire and blackened them with smoke. This earned them a reprimand from the Buddha. Finally when the paintings were completed, men came to admire them which brought about many conversions, even among the brahmins. This passage provides precise themes to be painted on the convent walls. In the Ajanta caves many paintings are inspired by such *Vinaya* rules, for instance, the Wheel of Existence (*bhava-cakra*) in the veranda of Cave XVII and the most frequently represented scenes at Ajanta derive from the *Jātaka-mālā* of Āryaśūra.

Etymology of Ellora. Ellora is derived from Elāpura, Vellūra, Iivalapura. Iivala was a rākṣasa whose brother Vātāpi was killed by Agastya. Can Vellūra be connected with Veluvana, the park near Rājagṛha donated to Lord Śākyamuni by King Bimbisāra. In this case, Vellūra would be a derivative of *velu* = *veṇu* 'bamboo' + *ūr* the South Indian suffix for 'city', also found in the name of the monastic complex of Bara-budu-ur (Moens 1951:335).

Novenarian maṇḍala at Ellora. Ellora did have a tantric tradition. *Lilācarita* refers to the stay of Cakradharasvāmi, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect, at Elāpura for several days. The *Lilācarita* (lilās 46-50) refers to the Āgamikas who frequented the Caves. They were well-versed in Tantras and Mantras (Pathy 1980:4). Cakradhara, who lived during the last quarter of the 13th century, saw *naivedya* carried to the temples on elephants.

In caves 11 and 12, dating to the 7th-8th centuries, there are seven novenarian (navātmaka) maṇḍalas, which have been described by Gupte (1964:49-54) as Buddha-maṇḍala: Buddha with eight bodhisattvas. Gupte has identified the eight bodhisattvas as: Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Sarva-śoka-tamo-nirghāta-mati, Vajrapāṇi, Jñānaketu, Lokanātha, unidentified, Sthiracakra. There is no such maṇḍala in the many collections of iconographic manuals from Japan dating from the 10th to the 19th century. In Sanskrit Tantras (both printed and manuscript) too we do not find such a grouping. In the Tibetan collection of 132 maṇḍalas pertaining to all the classes of tantras, too, there is no such nine-deity maṇḍala. Sarva-śoka- and Jñānaketu are two of the Sixteen Bodhisattvas of Bhadrakalpa in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala. If their identification is accepted, they will stand in splendid isolation from the other six bodhisattvas. The grouping does not conform to any maṇḍala configuration, and it merits reconsideration.

The central Tathāgata of the maṇḍala is in dhyāna mudrā. He should be the Abhisambodhi Vairocana. He is known as Vairocana of the Mahākaruṇā-garbh-odbhava maṇḍala or Taizokai Dainichi in Japan. The Abhisambodhi Vairocana is surrounded by Eight Bodhisattvas: Mañjuḥṣa, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. The seven novenarian maṇḍalas at Ellora thus are the early form of the Abhisambodhi Vairocana maṇḍala which pertains to the school of yoga-tantras. The fundamental tantra of the yoga division was translated by Śubhākarasīrṃha and I-hsing in A.D. 725 (K427, Nj 530):

大毗盧遮那成佛	神變	加持	經
Ta-p'i-lu-chê-na	ch'eng-fo	shen-pien	chia-ch'ih ching
Mahāvairocana	abhisambodhi	vikurvita	adhiṣṭhāna sūtra

In A.D. 746-774 Amoghavajra translated the Aṣṭa-mahābodhisattva-maṇḍala-sūtra (Nj 981, K 1304):

八大菩薩曼荼羅經

Pa ta-p'u-sa man-t'u-lo ching
aṣṭa mahābodhisattva maṇḍala sūtra

At the end of this sūtra is a stotra in 40 stanzas. Its arrangement of the Eight Mahābodhisattvas is as follows:

right Maitreya	back Ākāśagarbha	left Samantabhadra
Padmapāṇi Aval.	centre Śākyamuni	Vajrapāṇi
Sarva-nīvaraṇa-v.	front Kṣitigarbha	Mañjuśrī

The Eight Mahābodhisattvas were an indispensable and primary element in the yoga-tantras and hence Fa-hsien undertook the translation of two works during A.D. 989-999:

八大菩薩經

Aṣṭa-mahābodhisattva-sūtra

K1212, T 490, Nj 997 (two folios),

大乘八大曼拏羅經

Mahāyāna-aṣṭamahā-maṇḍala-sūtra

K 1215, T 1168a, Nj 880 (two folios), STP 12.3909

Restored as Aṣṭa-maṇḍalaka-(sūtra) by H 1168a and K 1215.

The ninth century Sanskrit-Tibetan thesaurus Mahāvyutpatti § 23 (ed. Sasaki 645-652) names the eight Bodhisattvas.

Iconographic identifications. Vajradhara. Gupte (1964: 30, pl.3c) has identified Vajrasattva on a pilaster of the antechamber of the shrine of the second storey of Cave 12. He holds a vajra and ghaṇṭā *across his chest*. In Tibet and Mongolia, there are representations of both Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. Both have the vajra and ghaṇṭā. Vajrasattva holds the vajra in his right hand near the chest and the left hand holding the bell rests on the thigh. On the other hand, Vajradhara has the same attributes but the two hands cross each other across the chest. Thus Vajrasattva and Vajradhara are clearly

contradistinguished in Lamaist art. The two can be seen distinctly in Tsultem (1982: 31 Vajradhara, 58 Vajrasattva). The sculpture at Ellora is thus clearly an image of Vajradhara. The cult of Vajradhara was popular in the 7-8th centuries and in the Old Javanese work *Nāgarakṛtāgama* we find that there were two types of monasteries pertaining to vinaya and to vajradhara (*kavinayan kabajradharan*).

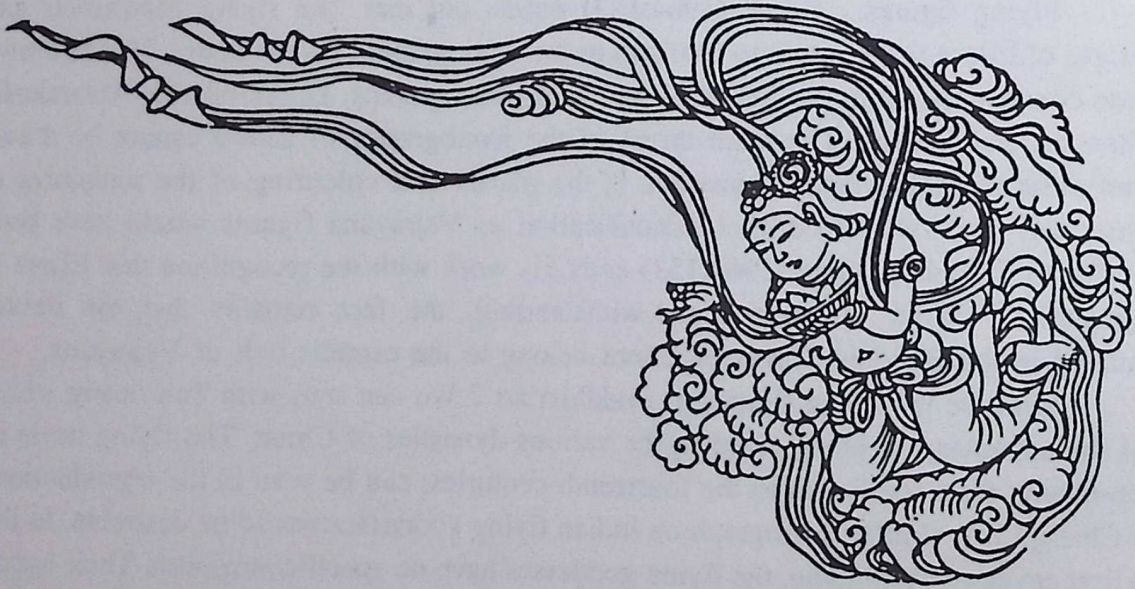
Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa Avalokiteśvara. Gupte (1964: 81-82) identifies the 'Litany of Avalokiteśvara' on the left wall of the front chamber of Cave 4 (pl.7c) and in Cave 3 (pl.7b). The word 'litany' means 'series of petitions for use in church services' and it has no relevance here. The correct expression is Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa Avalokiteśvara (Lokesh Chandra 1986:288 no. 761). The Ekādaśa-mukha Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa Avalokiteśvara is depicted in Tibet, alongwith 632 agni-bhaya-trāṇa, 633 jala-bhaya-trāṇa, 634 śiṃha-bhaya-trāṇa, 635 hasti-bhaya-trāṇa, 636 daṇḍa-bhaya-trāṇa, 637 nāga-bhaya-trāṇa, 638 dākinī-bhaya-trāṇa, 639 cora-bhaya-trāṇa (Lokesh Chandra 1986:631-639).

Flying figures. Gupte (1964:123) points out that "the flying gandharvas and apsaras of Ellora do not seem to conform to the iconographic conventions". He has drawn these conventions from the Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata-purāṇa, Dīgha-nikāya, Amarakośa, Mānasāra and Jātakas. The main thrust of the iconography of Ellora cannot be drawn from these texts, but from Vajrayāna. If the plaster and colouring of the sculptures at Ellora had not disappeared, their identification as Vajrayāna figures would have been confirmed. Happily, Gupte (1964:151) ends his work with the recognition that Ellora is vajrayanic: "Colour cognizance notwithstanding, the fact remains that the deities sculpted in the Buddhist Caves of Ellora belong to the esoteric cult of Vajrayāna."

Who are the flying figures in Buddhist art? We can start with Tun-huang which has the advantage of being dated to the various dynasties of China. The flying devīs of Tun-huang, from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries, can be seen in the reproductions by Chang/Li. A similar monograph on Indian flying goddesses would be desirable. In the earliest caves of Tun-huang, the flying goddesses have no specific attributes. Their hands are in various positions or postures conditioned by the flow and velocity of flying. All the goddesses are human in form. None of them has the lower portion of an animal. The most common attributes are musical instruments: flute, vīṇā, harmonica, lyre, cymbals, shang, drum, curved vīṇā, zheng. Sometimes their hands are in añjali, what is called pronom devatā in Thailand. There are goddesses offering flowers, holding a garland, bringing naivedya, incense, etc. The flying devīs are bringing celestial music or heavenly tributes to the deity. The musical figures have specific names in two classes of tantras, namely the caryā-tantras and the yoga-tantras. They are Vādyā, Gītā, Lāsya, Nr̥tyā, Mālā/

Mālyā, Viṇā, Varnsā, Murajā, etc. There are goddesses corresponding to the five upacāras of worship: Puṣpā (flowers), Dhūpā (frankincense), Dīpā/Ālokā (lamp), Gandhā (perfume applied to the body), and Naivedyā (food-offerings).

The flying goddesses are depicted sitting or standing in the Garbha maṇḍala based on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated into Chinese in A.D. 724. The Garbha maṇḍala has eleven quarters. The quarter of Avalokiteśvara (Tajima 1959:93) has Padma-dūtī, Dūtī (twice), padmakula-ceṭī (four times) Dhūpa-pūjā, Gandha-pūjā, Mālā-pūjā and Tārā-ceṭī. The quarter of Mañjuśrī (Tajima 1959 : 105) has Kimkārīṇī (five times), Ajitā, Aparājitā, Jayā and Vijayā. The quarter of Ākāśagarbha (Tajima 1959 : 119) has two *hiten* 飛天 flying goddesses over the 108armed Vajradhara and another two flying over the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara (Tajima 1959:119). All these four flying goddesses carry flowers on a tray in one hand and scatter them with the other hand:



The vajra quarter (vajrāvalī) of the Garbha maṇḍala illustrates Vādyā-devatā (41), Gītā-devatā (42), Sukha-devatā(43), Gītā (11), Vādyadhārī (12) (Tajima 1959:135, 137).

The Vajradhātu maṇḍala is based on the Tattvasaṅgraha translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra in A.D. 753 (K 1274). It has eight pūjā goddesses: Vajra-lāsī, Vajra-mālā, Vajra-gītā, Vajra-nṛtyā (termed 'interior pūjā-bodhisattvas') and Vajra-dhūpā, Vajra-puṣpā, Vajr-ālokā, Vajra-gandhā (termed 'outer puja-bodhisattvas', Tajima

1959:169-170). The Vajra-lāsī and Vajra-nṛtyā correspond to the flying goddesses roaming down in abandon from the skies. Vajra-mālā and Vajra-gītā are scattering flowers and playing music.

In the Chinese depictions of Sukhāvātī the flying musical goddesses are replaced by flying musical instruments, for instance, in Cave 172 of Tun-hung, dated to the flourishing period of T'ang (A.D. 713-762), musical instruments are flying over palaces and pavilions of the Western Paradise of Sukhavātī (Chang/Li 1980: pl.59). Ten different musical instruments hovering in the sky can be seen clearly in a Chinese woodprint of the 1920s (see attached plate).

Gupte (1964:123) gives specific features of some flying figures, which can be named as follows:

offering food	Naivedyā
showering flowers, bouquet	Puṣpā
presenting garlands	Mālyā
singing	Gītā
dancing	Nṛtyā, Lāsyā
padma	Padmā

All the flying goddesses in Buddhist art need to be carefully analysed and identified anew.

Jambhala. There are eight sculptures of Jambhala at Ellora (Gupte 1964:90-92, 96). Six of them have a citron (bījapūraka) in the right hand and a money-bag in the left. The remaining two have different attributes:

In Cave 2	r.h. padma	l.h. money-bag
In Cave 12	r.h. śaṅkha	l.h. padma

(with Avalokiteśvara in the centre and Tārā on the left)

The iconography of Kubera, Vaiśravaṇa and Jambhala is very extensive, varied and complex in the Lamaist tradition. Vaiśravaṇa carries a standard (dhvaja). A citron (jambīra) in the hand makes it fairly certain that a Jambhala is intended. The presence of padma in the right hand of the Cave 2 Jambhala and in the left hand of that of Cave 12 is derived from the two nidhis of the Amśumad-bhedāgama, namely, śaṅkha and padma.

Gupte (1964:92) has intuitively surmised that the context of the triad of Jambhala, Avalokiteśvara, and Tārā is international trade:

(i) Jambhala: "The traders who got this panel carved desired Wealth. This they could get only by ensuring a safe international trade. International trade was more profitable than internal trade".

(ii) Avalokiteśvara "saved people from ship-wreck. Therefore, if Tārā was to be worshipped to ensure a safe journey, so must Avalokiteśvara be offered worship for the same reason".

(iii) Tārā: "To the Buddhist traders she was a Sea Goddess, a sort of Water Deity. She alone could save them from the stormy waters of the sea, and bring them back home safely".

Jambhala is in fact invoked twice as the Lord of the Seas: *Om Jambhala-jalendrāya svāhā* in the Tibetan pantheon of the Three Hundred (Lokesh Chandra 1986:773 nos. 2468, 2470). Jambhala must have been a god of the ancient multi-nationals.

Seven Buddhas. On the back wall of the fourth corridor of Cave 12 are carved in full relief 14 Buddhas : 7 to the left and 7 to the right. According to Gupte the 14 Buddhas are in dharmacakra-mudrā (1964: 58). Huntington (1986:273 no. 12.39) has illustrated seven 'Mānuṣi' Buddhas of the left. They have the dhyāna mudrā and not the dharmacakra mudrā. The seven Buddhas on the right too should be in the same dhyāna mudrā. Gupte names the seven as "Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Vajrasattva, Vajrarāja". This list of seven is arbitrary. Vairocana, Akṣobhya and the others have well-defined characteristics and they could not have been shown with the same indeterminate mudrā. They can be the seven Medicine Buddhas.

Conclusion. The iconography of Ellora has to be identified in the light of Vajrayāna pantheons, not as single deities. Sanskrit, Tibetan and Sino-Japanese texts as well as graphic representations have to be taken into account. For this an urgent desideratum is to document each and every sculpture in all the caves of Buddhist inspiration. Each cave can represent a system(s). Every cave will have to be described in terms of its antechamber, main hall, nave, cells, etc. All the sculptures will be numbered cave-wise (number of cave followed by the number of sculpture in that cave e.g. 5.7). The publication of photographs of the general architectural details of each cave as well as of every sculpture therein is a must. A national project to publish the Buddhist sculptural treasures of Ellora needs to be taken up. It will change our perceptions of the Vajrayāna art of India, Japan and Tibet.

13. RARE INDIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN ASIAN COUNTRIES

The painstaking and continuous dedication of scholars have opened up new vistas of the epic of ideas and their role in the emergence of the modern miracle. The researches of the last 150 years have brought into being a new discipline wherein India has emerged for the East what Greece was for the West: the birthplace of philosophical ideas and influences in the art and poetry of Asia, a tremendous sway of logic and light, a whole new order of symbols and intuitions, in the millenia of Asia.

In the 18th century William Jones discovered the linguistic affinity of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin and pointed out that Sanskrit was more perfect and more ancient than both the Classical languages of Europe. This fact led to a new renaissance in the Western world. A wave of enthusiasm swept across Europe. European scholar-explorers traversed inhospitable expanses of land in search of their origins, undeterred by dangers or distances. In pursuing their dreams they uncovered the reality of India's civilisation. One of such humble explorers was Körösi Csoma of Hungary who was inspired by the legends of the origins of his tribe. He arrived in India in 1822 and spent the rest of his life here. Braving intense cold with frugal meals, and sitting at his desk wrapped up in a woollen from head to foot, and from morning to night, half-freezing in the heights of the Himalayas, Csoma discovered an unimagined quantum of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibetan rendition lying unknown to the academic world. He opened up unprecedented panoramas of art and thought, literature and philosophy, grammar and lexicography, medicine and metallurgy, astronomy and alchemy and other branches of learning of India hidden in the Tibetan language. A new vision of history dawned.

Now European scholars were fascinated by the romance of the potential discovery of Sanskrit manuscripts and traditions all over Asia. In the July of 1873 Dr. Edkins brought a Sanskrit-Chinese vocabulary to Prof. Max Müller at Oxford. This had been produced by the traditional technology of xylographic printing. It convinced Prof. Max Müller that Sanskrit manuscripts must have been kept up in Japan from the introduction of Buddhism about 600 A.D. to recent times, preserved in some of the ancient monasteries. By a lucky coincidence, during the course of the year 1879, two Japanese scholars, first Bunyiu Nanjio and afterwards Kasawara, arrived at Oxford to learn Sanskrit. Prof. Max Müller urged them to make inquiries about the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts at home. In the winter of 1879 Mr. Nanjio got a Sanskrit text from Japan, written in the ancient Indian script of the seventh century, in perpendicular lines, accompanied by a Chinese translation and a Japanese transliteration. Prof. Max Müller

published it in 1880. This publication attracted the attention of Mr. Wylie who wrote back saying that he had brought a number of Sanskrit texts from Japan. These Sanskrit manuscripts now form a prized treasure of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Another unknown world of unsurpassing wealth of manuscripts had been opened up. While India had ceased to possess any manuscripts earlier than the tenth century, in Japan had been found a palm-leaf manuscript of the sixth century, which had been preserved in the Horyuji monastery since 609 A.D. Interestingly enough, it contains mantras to the Goddess of Supreme Victory, and it was taken from India for the consecration and promulgation of the first written Constitution of Japan. This Constitution has been drawn up by Prince Shotoku, the Aśoka of Japan, ensuring the Buddhist concept that the State was for the happiness of the many, and for the well-being of the many. This Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā palmleaf of the Gupta period remained the most ancient known Sanskrit manuscript for half a century.

An astounding breakthrough came in 1883 when Nanjio published the description of over 1500 Sino-Japanese works which had been translated or adapted from original Sanskrit texts and commentaries by great Indian masters. These works enshrined the glorious efforts of 275 scholars, spanning long corridors of time from the first to the fourteenth century. While some scholars have tried to unravel the enormous treasures hidden in East Asia, the major part awaits intrepid minds to a rich fare of discovery.

I have walked up remote Japanese sanctuaries, perched atop hills, surrounded by forests of primaeval charm, hermitages of silence and meditation--and persuaded the bhikṣus to open up repositories of 1300 years ago. Lo behold! there I saw hundreds of Indian manuscripts forgotten and unknown, fresh and young in their untouched virginity of centuries. Friends, I have violated their slumber and awakened them to print. Among them is a scroll with illustrations of mudrās or hand postures, signed by Śubhākara-simha of the ancient Indian University of Nālandā. It was sketched under instructions of Śubhākara by artists from Samarkand, Tashkent and other Buddhist cities of Central Asia. The scroll is unique in being signed by a professor of Nālandā, and the oldest dated album of the mudrās which are an integral part of India's non-phonological expression in the Performing Arts and Transcendental Ritual.

In the seventies of the last century, Prof. Kern of the Netherlands opened up vistas of another world of Sanskrit manuscripts in the isles of Indonesia. His discovery of the lexicon Amaramālā, which is more ancient than the well-known Amarakośa, paved a path of patience and ingenuity for eager minds to explore the manuscript riches of the Archipelago. Investigations of a century have revealed two thousand manuscripts embedding

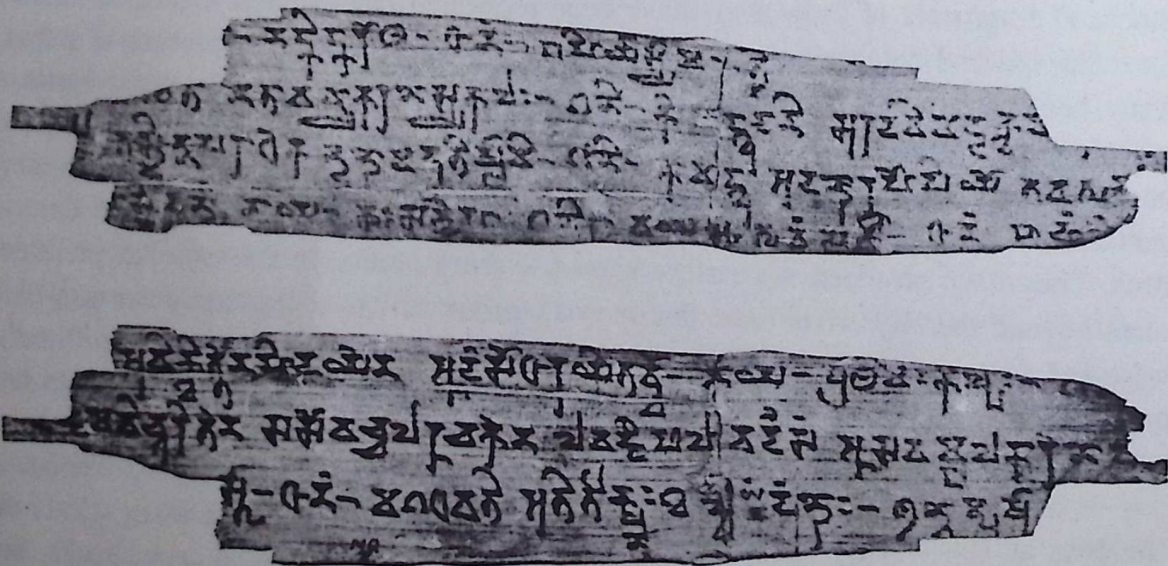
unto them little-known, but significant moments of history. Amidst the trembling melodies of Javanese musical strains, I had the fortunate chance to discover an ancient manuscript entitled "Tithimūrti" which describes how to encode a date in a sculpture. To wit, at the gate of the Kirtya Foundation in Bali, stands a monumental sculpture of a man on an elephant shooting an arrow. The arrow strikes the enemy who dies. Here man, elephant, arrow and death represent 1,8,5 and 0. There are eight elephants of the four directions and four intermediate quarters and five arrows of Cupid. The frozen levels of culture pulsating in the warm realities of life. Some of the manuscripts have lived in the oral traditions of Indonesia. Back in the 1920s poet Tagore was driving along a river with the Sultan of Yogyakarta. The Sultan sprang a surprise on the poet by reciting several synonyms for a river. The poet was moved by the spectacular knowledge of the Sultan and both were kinsmen in the alluring charm of the poetry of Sanskrit words.

The Indo-British, French, German, Russian, and Japanese expeditions to Central Asia in the early decades of this century have yielded astonishing results. A few thousand fragments of Indic texts have been recovered from ruined stūpas. In ancient Serindia, old and damaged manuscripts were deposited in the relic chambers of stūpas. They became invaluable archives for unravelling India's literary and artistic heritage when village officials of Turkestan paid arrears of revenue by marketing such buried papers taken out of old houses. The oldest Sanskrit manuscripts of the second-third centuries, belonging to the Kushan period, were discovered from the sands of Central Asia. They have provided the earliest known Sanskrit drama. In the sand-buried settlement beyond the Niya river were discovered wooden tablets of the first century, which were and still are, the only known governmental and commercial documents in Prakrit-cum-Sanskrit. The administrative use of an Indian language deep in Central Asia has opened up unexpected historical ground.

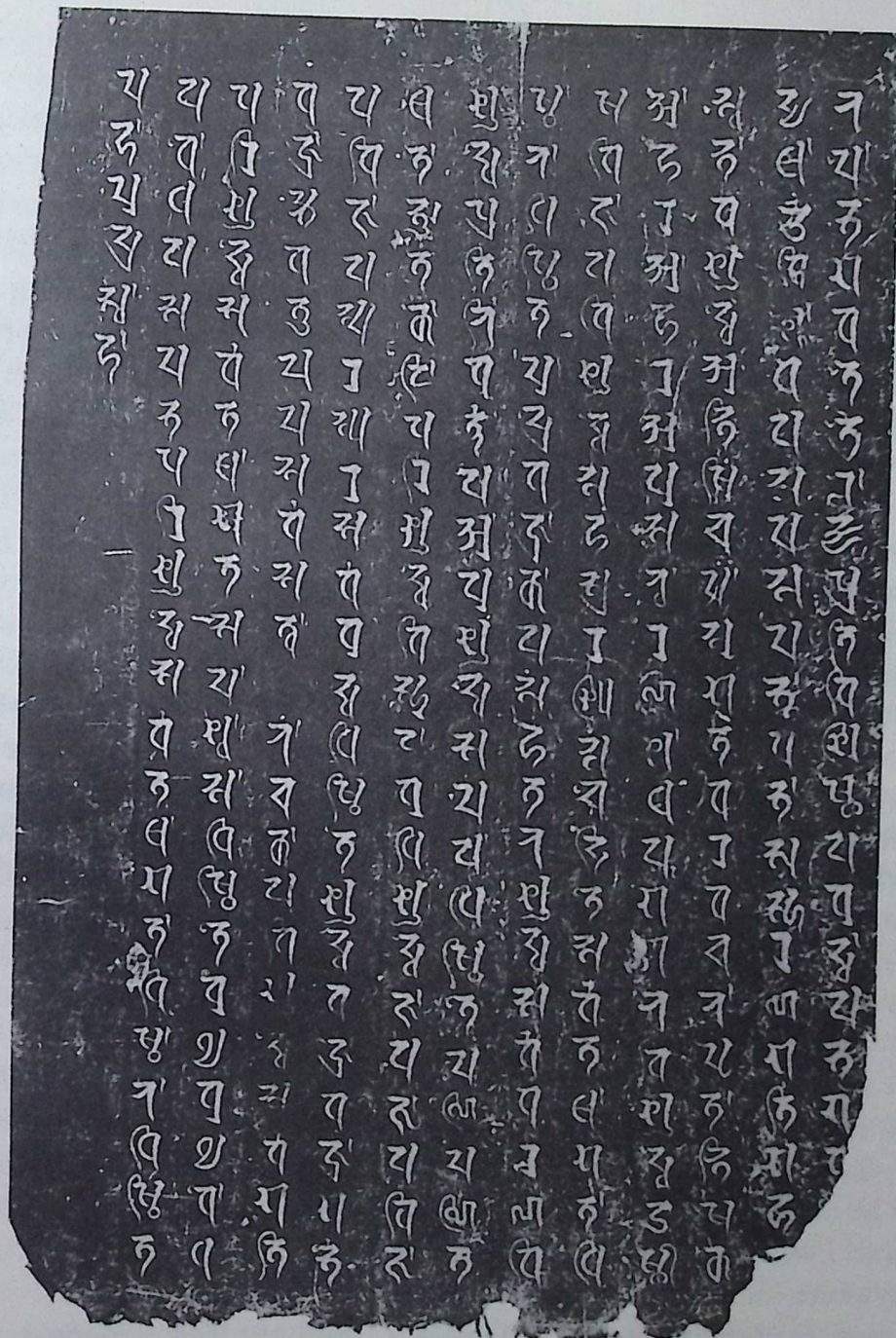
In March 1907, Sir Aurel Stein reached the cave shrines of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang. The sight disclosed, in the dim light of priest Wang's little oil lamp, a great treasure of manuscripts spanning six centuries. Heaped up in layers, but without any order, there appeared a solid mass of manuscript bundles rising from the floor and filling five hundred cubic feet. Among them were extensive texts in Indian Brāhmī characters written on the reverse of Chinese rolls, dating from a period when a knowledge of Sanskrit prevailed in Central Asia. They were in an excellent state, hermetically shut off from all climatic effects. From the joyful excitement of their discovery over seventy years ago to this day painstaking studies continue to reveal new wavelengths of Asia's cultural evolution. The earliest specimen of printing came from these

Caves: this Vajracchedikā dated 868 A.D., and preserved at the British Museum, is the oldest specimen of a printed book so far known. The perfect technique displayed by the text and the frontispiece indicates a long preceding development of the printer's craft, antedating the so-called European 'invention' of printing by several centuries.

Sanskrit manuscripts are strewn in monasteries nestling among the forbiddingly high mountains, untamed rivers, waterless deserts and icy howling winds of Tibet and Mongolia. Traversing the vast loneliness of the region that is Siberia, one comes across Sanskrit manuscripts in pristine condition. Prof. Raghu Vira the last of great explorers of manuscripts and painted scrolls—in these remote grasslands, lands of ice, expanses of sand and solitudes of magic charm has gathered thousands of Indic manuscripts unfolding a panorama to be viewed in the immensity of space and time.



The earliest known Sanskrit manuscript in the world, going back to the Kushan period, that is, the second century A.D. It was discovered from Qyzil in the Turfan area of Central Asia. They are fragments of a Sanskrit drama.



A Sanskrit inscription on an octagonal pillar, erected in A.D. 1104 in the Lo-yang district, China, discovered by Prof. RaghuVira. The last line reads: MAHĀMUDRE SVĀHĀ.

14. SECRET SERVICES IN ANCIENT INDIA

In the 18th century, the British were confronted with the governance of the immensity of India, both in terms of space and time. Time held the key to the understanding of many bewildering aspects of human thought and action. Hence a continuous effort was launched to make sense of India's time past, to explain the fundamental nature and proportions of the history of a vast land with its chilling logic of inevitability. As soon as Sir William Jones arrived in Bengal in 1784, a Classical scholar from the University of Oxford as he was, he identified Candragupta with the Sandrocottos of the Greek historians. Hereby he laid the foundations of Indian "historical writing unmixed with fable". By 1818 the Utilitarian philosopher and writer James Mill completed the first comprehensive *History of British India* in six substantial volumes. It has wielded a subtle influence on all subsequent historians. He tried to prove the abject condition of the Indians and that their laws and institutions were "rude". This attitude was to condition the thought of Raja Rammohun Roy whose letter of 11 December 1823 to Lord Amherst was set 'for the demolition of everything Oriental to make room for what was Occidental' (Ramtanu Lahiri). On 2 February 1835 came Macaulay's Minute on Education which was to anglicise the academic future of India. In 1843 Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar advocated the teaching of sound philosophy in the English Course to counteract the influence of false system of Indian philosophy. Lord Macaulay reaped a rich harvest. While English education initiated reform, it stimulated the nineteenth-century Renaissance in India, Macaulay himself has said in his Minute: "We surely ought not, in quiet times, to be constantly keeping the offensive form and ceremonial of despotism before the eyes of those whom, nevertheless, we permit to enjoy the substance of freedom".

At the same time a dedicated band of seekers of truth were raising the veil of obscurities shrouding the antiquities of India. In 1834 James Prinsep succeeded remarkably in deciphering the Brahmi script. The large number of unread inscriptions could now be decoded to open new vistas. In 1848 the Bombay Cave Commission was constituted to investigate the architecture and inscriptions of the caves. Discoveries of coins everywhere, esp. Indo-Greek coins, thrilled the European academic world: they "opened a new page in the history of Greek Art" (Masson). The deep-rooted prejudice of Mill against the Indians clouded the historic vision. However, 1841 saw the appearance of *The History of India* by Mountstuart Elphinstone, which was moderate in tone. It became a standard textbook for the ICS and at Indian universities. The monumental

history of ancient India on critical and scientific principles by Christian Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, came out in four volumes between 1847 and 1861. It has been hailed as "one of the world's greatest monuments of untiring industry and critical scholarship", by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition, s.v. Lassen). It stood out by its objective approach and the utilisation of varied original sources like coins, inscriptions and literature. Furthermore it broadened the scope of enquiry by including the history of social life, literature, science, industry and commerce.

After the initial dazzle of Occidental learning, the nationalist spirit was on the rise in India. The belief that ancient India at her best reached a degree of culture and civilisation far above that of the contemporary West was fast gaining ground. Even Europeans started to discover traces of nobility in Classical India. A French woman writer, C. Bader wrote on *Women in Ancient India* (1867), to highlight the high position of women depicted in the epics. In 1889-90 appeared the three volumes of *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India, based on Sanskrit Literature*, by R.C. Dutt who tried to put into proper perspective the misjudgments and wrongs of European scholars. It enjoyed tremendous influence and wide popularity. The first *Economic History of India* was written by R.C. Dutt (1901, 1903, 2 volumes). In 1904 appeared the first edition of the *Early History of India* by V.A. Smith in which he presented the leading events in ancient Indian political history. He was overwhelmed by Hellenistic influences. His greatest hero in Indian history was Alexander: he devotes 66 pages out of 478 pages to Alexander's campaign in India. Eminent Indian historians like Sir R.G. Bhandarkar (1837-1925) were coming to prominence, and they pleaded for scientific method in Indic studies.

With the rising crescendo of the nationalist movement, India's history was brought in to demonstrate that democracy and self-government had existed in our land since ancient times. Thus from a purely political approach, the history of institutional systems came to be studied. K.P. Jayaswal, wrote his brilliant *Hindu Polity* (1918) in which he brought forward evidence to show the vogue of representative institutions, constitutional monarchy with an organically produced system of checks and balances, republics, etc. in ancient India. It was an immediate and enormous success: "It has played a very real part in the movement for India's independence". (A.L. Basham). *The Political History of Ancient India* by H.C. Raychaudhuri appeared in 1923 incorporating the vast corpus of India's perception of history. It soon became a standard textbook in colleges and universities all over India. It has moulded the thinking of an entire generation. The social, political, economic, and scientific systems and institutions attracted the attention of historians, who studied the revenue system, systems of state both monarchic and

republic, police, jails, military organisation, and the like. The history of Indian shipping and maritime activity, and techniques of war too occasioned extensive studies. For two centuries, a few thousand brilliant minds have tried to unravel the several facets of the structure of the state in Classical India. One of the major aspects of statecraft that has hardly been touched upon during these last two hundred years is the theory and practice of espionage or secret services in ancient India. The study of governmental institutions in bygone centuries acquired a new relevance with the rise of nationalism, both in Europe and India. National resurgence became a dynamised thrust seeking its own deep-rooted vitality in rural institutions which carried glorious remnants of majestic historic structures that had refused to submit to serfdom. It is significant to remind ourselves that when we became free the people with all their timeless presence were embodied in the preamble to the Constitution of India which proclaimed "we, the people of India... do hereby adopt, and give to ourselves this constitution". After four decades of independence, in the long pilgrimage of new India to ever-renewing progress, it has become appropriate to look within our own classical parameters of intelligence.

The rise of nationalism in 17th century Europe brought the need to evaluate foreign information and so procedures and organisations were set up. Queen Elizabeth I maintained a regular intelligence agency. In the 18th century internal security and foreign intelligence became distinct organisations. On the other hand, since very ancient times espionage has been a crucial paradigm of the state in India, and it rightly finds extensive references in Sanskrit literature. The English word *spy* itself is cognate to Sanskrit *spas* "one who beholds, a watcher, spy". *Spas* are the spies of Varuṇa, in the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā, and other works, who eye over mankind for Varuṇa the far-sighted and thousand-eyed. *Cara* or *cāra* (spy) are distinguished from *dūta* by Kauṭalya, Kāmandaka and Yājñavalkya. Kam.12.32 says that a *dūta* is an open (*prakāśa*) spy, while a *cāra* is a spy who works in secret. In modern times also 'an ambassador is often nothing more than an honourable spy acting under the protection of the law of nations' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'espionage'). The Indian epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata and the kāvyas of Bhavabhūti and Māgha are full of intimate insights into the functioning of espionage. Political treatises in Sanskrit treat espionage at length. Kauṭalya devotes four chapters to spies (1.11-14). Kāmandakīya nīti-sāra (12.25-49), Śukra-nīti-sāra (1.334-336) have extensive operational strategies for spies both for internal and external intelligence. Viṣṇudharmottara 2.24.63 says spies are the eyes of the state (*rājānaś cāra-cakṣuṣaḥ*), and likewise the Udyoga-parva 34.34 of the Mahābhārata *caraiḥ paśyanti rājānaḥ*.

The security of the state was so vital and fundamental in India that it was apotheosised in the Sahasrabhuja Avalokiteśvara with a thousand hands, with an eye on each palm. The thousand (*sahasra*) eyes refer to the powerful (*sahas* 'power') intelligence apparatus of the state. The Sanskrit adage goes: *cāra-cakṣuṣo rājānaḥ* 'the eyes of a king are his *spies*', the effectiveness of the state is its intelligence system. Constant, thousand-fold, vigilance is the continuing price of stability. The information thus obtained has to be activated by an equally potent administrative machinery. The thousand (*sahas-ra*) arms or hands are the powerful (*sahas*) and all-pervading action of the state.

It is a professional credit of Dr. S.D. Trivedi to delineate in painstaking detail and with definitive precision the growth of the science of espionage in ancient India, its origin and organisation, techniques and operation, security and intelligence, both in the national and international arenas. The studies of Dr. Trivedi bring out a significant dimension of secret services that besides the security of the state, the welfare of the masses was another primary concern of the intelligence system in Classical India, which imparts the Indian system a qualitative distinction. Humane values are the heart of India's deeps, or in the words of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi: "We must create a new international order of humanity, where power is tempered with compassion, where knowledge and capability are at the service of all humanity".

The indefinite span of time known as the Renaissance heralds the dawn of the modern world with its multiple discoveries, manifold inventions, and progressive political systems. The reconstitution was inspired, assisted and derived from Greek and Roman literature, the *litterae humaniores*, leaning towards man and away from the thrall of theological absolutism. After five centuries, once again European scholars seek to understand, feel and transcreate another cognate Classical tradition, namely, that of India enshrined in Sanskrit texts. This may provide new syndromes wherein technology and transcendence can shed new minds and new horizons like rose petals into the tomorrows of man. While the warp and woof of inventions and introspection find their syllogism in the structure of a sovereign state, the political paradigms themselves seek a renewal. In this quest minds of the West look towards the Classical Indian systems of State with their attendant institutions. In such a context the work of Dr. S.D. Trivedi has international significance from the viewpoint of history, as well as in terms of the future of the science of espionage. In the work of Dr. Trivedi, the fleeting contemporaneity of India peeps into the perennial of her Classical traditions even in the profane domain of intelligence and secret services.

Dr. S.D. Trivedi has unravelled with unrivalled professional perception and sound historic methodology, the theory and practice of espionage and secret services in ancient India. The unity of India was crystallised in the unity of the Mauryan State with a vast network of international relations. Sophistication in theory and its concomitant operational aspects had become an imperative of the imperial system of the Mauryas. The heights attained in the Arthaśāstra and dramatised with subtle insights of functioning in the drama Mudrārākṣasa have been analysed extensively by Dr. Trivedi. Dr. Trivedi's work catches the roots and laurels of India's evolution in a domain that has not been studied as yet. Dr. Trivedi is the first scholar with the practical experience of a professional to probe into the complexities of ancient Indian espionage techniques. This work is in the distinguished lineage of pioneering works like those of R.G. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal, U.N. Ghoshal and P.V. Kane. Brimful of precise formulations, it will initiate new projections in the history of India.

15. PADMAVAT OF JAISI

Padmavat is a unique work of the author's age, when various religious sects were trying to evolve a common bond between the as yet unreconciled classes of Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus felt that the glory of material life had been denied to them. So their saints turned their minds towards the fuller realisation of a spiritual life, while many of their princes struggled against the Imperial Court at Delhi. The Muslim village-brethren were closely tied to the Hindu populace. They were of the same stock and temperament. They could not long remain unaffected by this religious ferment. Among them too arose faqirs who came forward with the noble ideal of brotherly amity between the two sections. Kabir ranks foremost among them. He approached the problem from an intellectual point-of-view, proclaiming the unity of Ram and Rahim, and Quran and Puran. His preachings were stern, and they could not touch the masses --- such was the realisation of many, of which our author Malik Mohammad Jaisi stands out by his classic Padmavat. He thought, as a true sufi, that this message so vital for his age, must be inculcated in the people through the expression of love, that sentiment *par excellence*. For this noble mission, he chose to depict the story, then most current, of the heavenly beauty of Padmāvati, love of the emperor Khilji for her, his military expedition to Chittor, the chivalry of the Rajput to save the honour of his women-folk and ultimately the failure of Khilji to tarnish that divine charm. This glorious episode of Hindu chivalry, he couched in the veriest language of the people. He is said not to have been a man of great learning, but was famed for his wisdom, and for the fact that he wrote for the people in the people's tongue. He was the first poet-of-the-people and three decades later he was to inspire the most popular poem of India, the Ramcharit Manas of Tulsidas which retained the Avadhi language as well as the sequence of chaupāis and dohās of our author. Not only that, there are words which are testified by Tulsi and Jaisi alone ---- thus showing such a remarkable linguistic community that the study of Jaisi's diction becomes essential for the linguistic appreciation of Tulsi. A question naturally arises in our minds as to why Jaisi remained and remains unknown, while his successor Tulsi achieved a phenomenal popularity, rare in literary annals. The answer may be found in the fact that Jaisi wrote the Padmavat in the masnavi style, chose a heroic-cum-love theme, which could hardly perpetuate a message for the Hindu masses who constituted the majority. The Hindu mind could little appreciate the foreign masnavi style. It had scant regard for a heroic or love theme, as a greater struggle threatened the very fabric of its social structure. The bards might love to recount and the people love to hear enraptured the tale'

of Rajput chivalry, but a classic to them must embody an ideal which translates them to planes of supermundane existence. They had learnt to appreciate moral and ethical values in terms of the legends of Rāma and Sītā and other epic tales alone. To teach the nobler aspects of life through the medium of a new tale was a task in which hardly any one could succeed and in which our author too cannot claim any great success. He might employ all the resources of embellishment prescribed by the *ars poetica*, as Jaisi does and does in a most charming manner, but it was to leave no lasting impression on the mass-mind. Besides, he wrote the Padmavat in all likelihood in the Persian script which also came in the way of its gaining popularity. Even today very few of its manuscripts are in Nagari characters. Anyway, to see the greatness of the Padmavat we must view it as its author did, for every work of art, as the Padmavat surely is one, demands of us a community of vision with the author. To quote the famous adage of German critics:

"Wen den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen".

"When we wish to understand the author, we must go to his land". Viewing it as a harbinger of peace and amity among Hindus and Muslims it certainly occupies a premier rank. Its famous critic Pt. Ram Chandra Shukla says that those houses of Muslims in which a copy of this work is found, are generally the most tolerant. What greater tribute could there be!

Now let us come to the story in brief:

King Gandharvasen of Ceylon had a daughter, Padmavati by name. She was a paragon of beauty. The king found it difficult to find a consort for her and she remained sullen. Her dear parrot Hiranman, wise and vociferous, was overheard by the king talking to her about the marriage. The king was furious. Out of fear the parrot flew away to the woods and Padmavati's sorrow grew all the more. The parrot was caught in the woods and taken to Chittor by a hunter who sold him to a Brahmin there. The Brahmin, in his turn, sold it to king Ratnasen who caught a fancy to it. Once when the king had gone out ahunting, his queen Nagamati, proud of her beauty, asked the parrot whether there was any more beautiful than her. The parrot told her of the unparalleled charm of Padmavati. The queen ordered the parrot to be killed lest the king's love for her lessen. But her maid hid it lest the king be sad. On his return the king was worried on not seeing the parrot and he was furious. The parrot was brought before him and from him he came to know of the great charm of Padmavati in the isle of Ceylon, and thence onwards he languished for her. Shortly after, assuming the garb of an ascetic, with the parrot as his guide and sixteen thousand young men clad as ascetics, he journeyed to Ceylon. There he settled

down in a Śiva temple, the princess his only thought. The parrot informed the princess of his great charm. She fell in love with the unseen ascetic-king; and on a holy day she went out for worship to the temple where he sat. Hardly could he catch a full glimpse of her beauty that he swooned. He regained consciousness after she had gone, but he ever pined for her. Padmavati sent a word that now he could get her only after climbing the walls of the fortress of Singhalgarh. He invoked the help of God Śiva and other deities who, as usual in Indian poetry, come to his succour and the armies of the king of Ceylon lay low. Recognising Śiva, king Gandharvasen of Ceylon, fell at the feet of the Lord and said "She is thine, My Lord". Then ended happily the wedding of Padmavati. A few days later they returned to Chittor.

After this one Ragho, a dismissed astrologer of king Ratan's court, informed Alauddin Khilji, then reigning at Delhi, of the great beauty of Padmavati. Alauddin in consequence attempted, but unsuccessfully, to capture Chittor in order to obtain possession of her. By a stratagem, he succeeded in capturing Ratan's person, and held him as a hostage for her surrender. During her husband's imprisonment, proposals of an insulting nature were made to her by Devpal, king of Kambhalner, which she repelled with scorn. Ratan was subsequently released from his dungeon by the valour of two heroes, Gora and Badal, the former being killed fighting bravely in the battle which ensued. As soon as Ratan was again seated on his throne, he attacked Kambhalner in revenge for the insult offered to his wife, and killed Devpal. He was, however, himself sorely wounded, and only arrived at Chittor in time to die. His two wives Padmavati and Nagamati became suttee for him, an event described by Col. S. Tod in his immortal work thus: "But another awful sacrifice preceded this act of self-devotion, in that horrible rite the Jauhar, where the females are immolated to preserve them from pollution or captivity. The funeral pyre was lighted within the great subterranean retreat, in chambers impervious to the light of the day, and the defenders of Chittor beheld in procession its queens, their own wives and daughters, to the number of several thousands. The fair Padmavati closed the throng, which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tartar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern, and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element". Their ashes were still warm when the advance guard of Khilji's army approached the gates of the city. It was nobly defended by Badal, who fell fighting on the spot. The Tartar took possession of an inanimate capital, strewed with the bodies of its brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay consumed the once fair object of his desire.

Such is the story which Jaisi relates with the consummate skill of a master writer, trained in the Perso-Arabic tradition and at the same time conversant with the usual *kāvya* style with its descriptions of seasons, of nature, of the charm of the hero and heroine, of bathing-scenes, of journeys, of rivers, of nuptial ceremonies, of war and of what not. And beneath all this there is the real passion for beauty and his deep interest in and love for his fellowmen and everything that concerns them. And it is this that lends inimitable charm to his work.

To conform his work to the popular conception, the poet had to fuse fact with fiction. The first half, from the journey of king Ratan to Ceylon and his coming back to Chittor with Padmavati, has borrowed much from the people's tale, while the second half from the going away of Ragho to the suttee of Padmavati retains in a great measure the historic veracity of events. The author has changed the very name of the hero from Bhim Singh to Ratan, name of the king of Mewar who ruled Chittor at about the time the poem was written. The dismissal of Court-pundit Ragho is also not known to history, and is in all likelihood borrowed from the popular story-tellers. Jaisi has in many places also improved the situation by a proper emphasis. As is well-known, after a long and fruitless seige of Chittor, Allauddin Khilji restricted his desire to a mere sight of the extraordinary beauty of Padmavati and acceded to the proposal of beholding her through the medium of a mirror alone. It was against the dignity of a Rajput king that another person should have a glimpse of his queen, for even a shadow of an outsider and much more so of a Tartar would pollute her chastity. To this the author makes only a passing reference, thereby raising the hero in our estimation. To enhance this effect, the author creates another character, king Devpal who sends insulting offers of marriage to the queen, while her husband is in custody in Delhi. The king, immediately after his release from Delhi, revenges it and slays the wicked Devpal before the onslaught of Khilji thus keeping up the honour of Rajput womanhood.

At the end of his work, Jaisi says: "I asked the sages the meaning of this, they said, "So much only is clear to us: the fourteen worlds which are below and above are all within man's body. We make the body Chittor, the mind the king: we recognise the heart as Singhala, the intellect as Padmini. The spiritual guide is the parrot who showed the way: without a spiritual guide who can find the Absolute in this world? Nagamati is the cares of this world: he whose thoughts are bound up therewith does not escape. Raghava the messenger is Satan and the Sultan Alauddin is illusion. Consider the love story in this manner: receive instruction if you can." The key which he gives above does not seem to fit the lock; he is a poet first and foremost whose object is to tell a tale of

love. Still it is not impossible to discern sprinklings of Sufi thought here and there, when the human love tends towards the Infinite. At times, whether union or separation, all breathes the Divine Love, of which all human affection seems to be merely a shadow. The sun and the moon, the fire and the wind, all are possessed by it and long for the "Divine Beloved", but without *sādhana*, mere wish cannot attain him. The form and fragrance of the flowers seems to be imbued with the same universal longing. *Double entendre* has not infrequently been employed to accentuate this Sufic effect. At times, simple situations are so worded that one sees in them the expression of the saint, rather than of the poet. For instance, king Ratan after hearing the beauty of Padmavati from the parrot, becomes unconscious, and regaining it back he exclaims:

आवत जग बालक जस रोवा । उठा रोई हा ज्ञान ओ खोवा ।
हौं तो अहा अमरपुर जहां । इहां मरनपुर आएउं कहां ।

which recalls the famous lines from Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The Soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
and cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home;
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!

Critics also see a Sufi strain when the poet describes the emotions of the king on reaching the seventh sea near Ceylon. They think that it reflects the unalloyed joy of the *sādhaka* when he approaches Supreme Bliss. Another apparently unphilosophic context, viz. the loosing of consciousness by king Ratansen on seeing Padmavati in the temple, according to the critics, represents the fact that the Lord is ever present but the devotee is not able to see him on account of the worldly illusion around him, he has to transcend it to visualise him. But we are on firmer ground in seeing in the descriptions of the Singhal fort the hathayoga divisions of the body, without the *sādhana* of which, one cannot attain final emancipation. Here we have allusions to the *nava-dvāra*, the nine steps, the tenth *dvāra* the *brahma-randhra* to reach which one has to cross over many trials and tribulations. In the very beginning of the description of the fortress, the poet

says that he who exerts himself for the four steps, crosses over a hundred (चारि बसेरे सौचढ़ें सत्व सौ उतरे पार). The four steps referred to here are the four stages of sufi saints: Shariat, Tariqat, Haqiqat, Marfat. The saintly class of the period of Jaisi believed that one had to go to Ceylon, the isle of wealth and women, temptation for which one had to resist to attain full realisation. Thus the very fact of laying the plot of the first half in Singhal is an effort to give the beginning of the poem a religio-mystic setting, a desire made explicit by the poet in the closing stanzas, cited above.

"What a story it is! Half fairy tale and half historical romance and all a kaleidoscopic mixture of whatever the poet found of charm and beauty in the world around him and in the traditions and culture of two civilizations, told in verse the lilt of which Tulsidas was glad to imitate".

16. MY FATHER IS MERGED INTO THE MAJESTY OF INFINITY

Friends have asked me to reminisce on the first annual śrāddha of my father Prof. RaghuVira. I stand stunned and bewildered in a train of years, months and days. Sweeps of vision, musings of bigger objectives and wider goals, immense panoramas and unknown terrains, a procession of expanding psychoramas flit across a tearful heart and brimming eyes. A son's heart wails: "Admit me. Cold wind smites me. It will blow me away. I pray, shelter me." Love flows not, it envelops not, it no longer inundates his chosen son: "Your warmth, your depths are desolate. You are known no more. You are woven into the web of the cosmoë, just spun into my dreams *sans end*." I look up and just opposite a vacant chair stares at me where we, father and son, had envisioned, garnered and laboured on remote grasslands, lands of ice, expanses of sand and lands of magic charm, which shed glamour on India's historic unfoldment. Enraptured, father had reminisced:

I have strayed,
I have strayed far.
And yet I am in the bye-lanes
That feed India's path.

Ah, forgotten, forsaken,
Still they have glittered
From one season to another.
They have amassed precious jewels.
Mother India, they come to strew them
On your wide path,
So that every soul,
That has chosen thy lap as its cradle,
My be lit.

Stunned I glance at the bleak walls lined with rows of cabinets enshrining within them my father's love, his ideal, his embracement of precious ages when Indian saints and savants toasted with the hordes that raced from the shores of Amur and the Baikal to the shores of Volga and the Caspian, ages when intrepid visionaries broke the silence of the Himalayan serenities of Forbidden Lands, ages when emissaries of our land braved the perils of seas to the isles of S.E. Asia. The majesty of these vistas of flown

centuries clamours to operate again with greater strength and fresher glory in the bosom of the future when India will come to no awe and know no grief.

Having studied in the depths and the tremendum of our tradition he saw its historico-critical evaluation by European savants who had dedicated whole lives of devotion born of the romance of discovery of a culture and civilization which had dazed them by its originality. Soon after his university years, father was on his way to Europe studying under eminent Vedicists. Among his European teachers, a special affection grew up between him and Prof. Caland whose joy knew no bounds in having the opportunity to deliberate with a brilliant son of India, alas, at the end of his life. Prof. Caland was an authority on the technique of the *yajña*. In spite of a painstakingly accurate determination of the exterior, the European scholar has never been able to evoke a vision that could leap into *sādhāna*, that could merge him with the inner light, the supreme luminosity. One day, Prof. Caland asked father to go through a German book on Vedic religion. He got the book and also the shock of his life. The spiritual palingenesis was shipwrecked in the stormy sea of academic and anthropologic accretions. He saw that these "men of colossal learning, had produced mummified versions of the sacred hymns. They had found the dictionary and the grammar very handy, and for purposes of defence and attack very effective and safe. They had thought that pricking was the essence of a needle. They most carefully measured its dimensions and reproduced an exact copy. But could it be used for joining the edges of separate pieces of cloth ? No, the eye which leads the thread was missing. It could create holes, but it missed the purpose of creating holes. The philologist had missed the eye, the vision that alone could unite him, his reader and the Vedic *ṛsis* in the ecstasy of the soul." He went to Prof. Caland and told him his experience and also that he better read his *Ṛgveda*. The professor was shocked. The professor presented him his German translation of the *Āpastamba śrautasūtra*. Father was back home. He spent the whole night over it. In the morning he was ready with a long list of corrections in the translation. He went to his beloved professor and discussed the list with him. The old professor was in dismay and he visualised that her Veda, her *yajña* still lived and shone in the depths of India's soul. Every European scholar who came in contact with father saw the renascent and surging forces emanating from India's ageless wisdom commanding an *elan vital* for the Man of the future.

I am reminded of the words of a famous German explorer: *Alle Träume des Lebens beginnen in der Jugend....*, that is, the dreams of our life begin in youth. So, in his infancy when my father started learning English he saw that cat had a Hindi counterpart, rat also had an equivalent, and poor pencil had none. It evoked his consternation,

which was to hibernate a score of winters, until it was to be awakend into dynamic action by the leading Indologists Dr. Grierson and Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Dr. Grierson had worked all his life on the 'modern' languages of India and had produced more than two dozen huge and heavy tomes. While our languages were spoken in the India of today, they were new but hardly modern, barely capable of expressing the linguistic consciousness of the scientific age which has permeated the very core of the daily life of the man of the twentieth century-- so thought Grierson. He asked my father about how our new languages accepted the challenge, though they might possess an inherent capacity to do so in a measure which could do credit even to modern European languages. Father was silent and in thought. The gauntlet was cast. A simple wondering question of his childhood arose in all fury and gained a new meaning.

Father went to see Prof. Sylvain Lévi the noblest of all living Indologists of the time, for whom India was the first love. Sylvain Lévi went wherever Indian civilization had gone, and he had tried to be faithful to *l'Inde civilisatrice*, the civilising India. Father and Sylvain Lévi talked on the yesteryears when India commanded the devotion and affection of the Asian Man. Father's one burning passion was the future cultural freedom wherein could our political independence find a true signification; as it alone could lead to the enrichment of Man in his totality. The conversation drifted to the qualitative plane of languages and Sylvain Lévi detailed how a language is a mirror of a people. While the language of the Eskimos may be richer in fishing vocabulary than modern languages, but it was totally undeveloped even for elemental modern requirements and that assigned it a very low position in the civilizational scale. Here again was an affirmation of a problem of immense dimensions to occupy his entire life of unswerving dedication to be followed by that of his disciple-son. Needless for me to charter the course of father's terminological enrichment of modern India. Suffice it to quote an instance that *Sansad* for Parliament, *Vidhan Sabha* for State Legislature, *Nagar Nigam* for Municipal Corporation are all father's -- embracing the various organs whereby we the people of India give a government unto ourselves. Recalling his meeting with Sylvain Lévi, father scribbled:

I have loved our fire, lightning and sun,
Our moon, stars, winds and storms,
I sanctified them,
Daily dawns, daily sunsets,
Monthly wanings and waxings of moon,
Comets, eclipses and falling fireballs.

But I had missed the invisible threads.
 With new eyes and new learning
 I am viewing the threads,
 On which the worlds and their events are strung.

My imagination is fired.
 My intellect is aglow.
 Armies of flashes invade my mind.
 My speech fashions them into words.
 Words pursue thoughts.
 Thoughts pursue words.
 As living organisms they multiply their kind.

Fresh precepts, fresh concepts,
 They form arrays,
 Formulas and systems,
 Allying with each other,
 Telescoping into each other.

The country honoured father by making him synonymous with the Hindi of administration, science and technology. Once he was flying to Europe in his dhoti and kurta of milk-white khadi. A co-passenger got curious about him and asked about his mission to Europe. Father was on his way to study the Hindi of the lost children of India, the gypsies, whose language still retains the fundamental vocabulary and ancient grammar of Hindi. A gypsy sentence may interest my readers: an ex-Queen of the Gypsies told father in her language: *mi rani som* "I was a queen". The co-passenger's curiosity was aroused further and he asked the university where father taught. Father told him: "I have a very simple profession. I make words". The co-passenger jumped in interruption: "I can recognise you as the great RaghuVira who coins words, travels by plane clad in khadi and in search of Hindi in the very heart of Europe. It can be none else." He became a friend who helped father's research mission by his high diplomatic status.

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Reminiscences crowd one upon the other, but I may finally recall a succession of events which brought father into the Jan Sangh. My father adored China, which had shared some of the highest thoughts with us, when "her rocks smiled with our sculptured

art and the sculptured art attained the immortality of the rock, and lo ! the chiselled stone mass shed effulgence and imparted wisdom of ageless peace". He went in person to see the sagely treasures of this Celestial Kingdom. He even mounted the stone images of the two white horses on which had come the first Indian Ācāryas to the Middle Kingdom, bringing Sanskrit scriptures. It was an ecstasy for him to be on these mounts at the White Horse Monastery recalling two thousand years of the flow of our culture. He descended into the depths of the coal mines of China, gazed at her vast industrial complexes, lit solitary lamps in now forlorn and silent dhyāna halls, witnessed from an honoured seat the gigantic procession of a seething mass of humanity in the red square of Peking, motored on the road which commemorated our great emperor Aśoka-the Ashoka Road in Shanghai, estampaged the longest Sanskrit inscription of the world on the northern gate of the Great Wall. A motorcade laden with water, milk and vegetables, doctors, nurses, photographers, archaeologists, art critics, and military plane carried him into the very heart of the Gobi desert to his world of enchantment which he had ever longed to visit --- the five hundred caves of Tun-huang, the most ancient art gallery where India's Perennial Spirit received the homage of the Uigur, the Han, the Tibetan, and a multitude of other races now extinct in the womb of history. Father stood in wonder before the Mahākāla temple in the very centre of Peking, the metropolis of Chinese culture. Herein bewildering varieties of shapes demand the surrender of the evil of the soul of the worshipper. Here Mongol lamas recite in the course of an year the Sanskrit literature that was rendered into Mongolian over the centuries since Qubilai Khan who had envisaged Peking as a cosmogram of Yamāntaka.

Decades of glancing through 'nerved' xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian colophonizing the fame of Yung-ho-kung stood visible before a wondering son of India. Here was a monument of a great era. Here was the seat of the most sacred homa performed by lamas with elaborate chignon of silken threads, fringe bands over their heads, partly hiding the eyes symbolising that they are unaware of the phenomenal environment while their spiritual eye is wide open, elaborate amices (uttariya) resembling the celestial clouds - every apparel and drapery suggesting that the officiant has undergone the inner metamorphosis or to speak technically he is transformed into a ṛṣi. The rite goes on, purely Indian in spirit and diction, interspersed with Tantric mantras like ओ वज्र अनल महाभूत ज्वल ज्वलय सर्व भस्मीकुरु सर्व दुष्टान् हूं फट् etc. representing the dynamism of our culture of our free days. The rite is long and complex where the last act is the 'dissolution' of the spiritual drama. The fullness of the edifying vision of the mystic union obtained through meditation and by elaborate rites is dissolved into what they came

from, the supreme nonsubstantiality. In former years, in Yung-ho-kung were located the hostelryes and caravansaries where Mongols from Urga, Kiakhta and Kobdo, Buryats from the Baikal Lake, Kalmuks from the Volga River, Manchus from Tsitsikhar, Tanguts from the Koko-nor, Tibetans from Lhasa and occasionally Gorkhas from Nepal bustled and jostled whilst clouds of incense and harmonies of litanies rose into the blue skies smiling down upon the pageant of Peking. Father was deep in reverie, replete with proud reminiscences of days when Manchu emperors descended from their yellow sedans and ascended the marble steps with their splendid retinue to present offerings to the gilt images, and inmates of the Imperial zenana left their seclusion to seek consolation and advice from the saintly lamas. To be brief, father's visit to China filled him with rapture and he sang:

Lovingly have your people
 Called me the Indian Hsüan-tsang.
 All glory to that name !
 Indeed the intense flame,
 That burned in Hsüan-tsang's breast
 Has blazed a trail, a long trail
 Of 1300 years
 Within me.

I have witnessed hoary sights
 And have sipped wondrous saps.
 Nineteen centuries have rolled back
 And I have joined the marching caravan of time
 With the Han, the Uigur
 The Tibetan, the Mongol and the Manchu.

Father traversed the villages and hamlets, talked to men of position and studied the maps of China. He saw the rise of a giant whose sinocentricity had not been curbed but whetted by communism. The maps had opened his eyes to the monstrous reality of a cartographic aggression on India's sacred borders. A painful undercurrent agonised his exterior of joy and peace. It was the starting point of his efforts to bring home the devastating terror that was to lacerate our northern borders. His clarion calls for what he termed the operation "Northern Vigil" went unheeded in the fraternal embraces. Father was in disdain, thwarted yet unbroken, but lonely and forlorn he scribbled:

It is an historical occasion.
 Oh God, give me strength to see light and truth,
 And fearlessness to cast them abroad.
 Oh Motherland Supreme, it is an hour of danger.
 I sound the bugle call.
 Rally round the Mother.
 She needs you.
 It is your Dharma.
 धर्मो हतो हन्ति / धर्मो रक्षति रक्षितः/

Years passed and father was ruffled and disconsolate at utter negligence. An evening in the December of 1961 as we sat for dinner, a telephone asked father's comments on the Chinese situation by a conscience-keeper of India's cabinet. He spoke his heart and the next morning newspapers carried his statement. The party and government fretted and frowned - it shook in its slumber. Father stood unbaffled, he stood by Dharma supreme:

To achieve an objective,
 To accomplish a task,
 There is the prime requisite
 That thine be the initiative.

He had decided to leave the party to which he had owed allegiance for years on end but which was now "lulled into narcotic stupor", was "prejudiced against the arming of the nation to defend itself", had refused "the ardour and fervour to be aroused in our people and let them possess Bergson's *elan vital*, the vital bounce, so that we become what has been mentioned in the R̥gveda as सहसः सूनुः "the sons of challenge, of daring defiance". The finale came. One afternoon at 1.45 p.m. father went to the Prime Minister's residence, handed over his resignation outside the portals, and went straight to a press conference. He spoke at length and with paralyzing facts about China's impending human waves over our northern ramparts. The press listened with reverence but conviction seemed remote. At the end father declared "To-day I have resigned from the Congress Party on the issue". The next morning the country was stunned to see a veteran leave the party on a point which they thought to be a rather remote possibility, if ever. His admirers were unable to comprehend this unprecedented step. One of his friends in the diplomatic corps asked him: "How do you feel now". He replied: "I am happy to transcend the barriers of my own making, to be a free man". He sang:

My love, my ideal,
In thee lies my refuge,
I embrace thee,
This moment and every other moment is thine.

Numerous parties had beseeched him to join. But he belonged to those who loved, venerated and avowed dedication to holy Bhārata भारत; the land of Bharata भरत, the prince of leonine prowess, the playmate of lions. He joined them and in a moment of exaltation he mused:

A noble cause hangs by the string
The string of will.
Let it not snap.
Steel the string.
And the cause will swing
Freely, merrily,
Kissing gentle winds,
And soaring altitudes.

The frame that was my father is merged into the majesty of infinity, and the far-flung perimeter is his arena, the arena of Brahma. While a son gazes in tears at the grim, bleak, endless night of sorrow that envelops him - the ideals, the symbology, the yearnings of his beloved Bhārata demand your consubstantiation, devotion and dedication - of you the millions of India in the present point of time and the aborning countless tomorrows. (26 May 1964)

17. IN THE LAND OF VEDIC STUDIES

An invitation of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany took me to this land of Vedic Studies (Dr. Wilfried Nölle has actually written a book entitled "Germany: the Second Home of Vedas"). The first few days were spent at Bonn, the German Varanasi on the Rhine. The economic miracle is visible everywhere and every German takes it for granted. Whilst he floats in a sea of milk and honey, it is the cultural life to which he assigns a place of pride in his achievemental pattern. You will be told of the magnificent operas, rich museums of antiquities and modern arts, museums of science portraying the pace of its rapid development and presenting the 'epic of ideas' which creates the great and grand of our century. Science need not create cultural barbarians; it is a close companion and concomitant of belles lettres and beaux arts.

One of the first facts that strikes an Indian is that in German life English has no place at all. If you apprise a German of this fact he is astounded at this observation, he is unable to grasp it, he is lost. It is in India alone that we can conceive of a foreign language dominating the national life and the national language having no place in the country. In Germany no man on the street can speak English. You may visit bookshops and it is impossible to find an English book. German bookshops store and display only German books and that is but natural. The Indian anglocracy is loud in its protestations of the universality of the English language which is far from the truth. Television is Verenseh in German, ambulance is Krankswagen, savings bank is Spaarkasse, railway train in Zug, platform is Bahnsteig, and so on. Astonishingly, the daily Dusseldorfer Stadtpost of 27 August 1964 carried an advertisement in which 'neu' was written in Devanagari as नौ which dominated the page of the newspaper by its extraordinary size of two and a half inches.

No visitor to Germany can afford to miss Berlin and its wall, which is an aberrant phenomenon in human history -- the inhabitants of a single city divided and presenting a striking contrast in their development. The famed Berlin chair of Sanskrit studies is in East Berlin, but the West Berliners have recently created a professorship at the Free University which is now trying to build up anew. I also had the pleasure of knowing the work of the institute for comparative music where for the first time they are studying the trans-Himalayan Lamaist music of the Tibetans. The Tibetan histories of music ascribe its origin to India. In 1957 I had the unique opportunity of listening to Lamaist music in a temple of far-off Mongolia, in its very surroundings of a snowing sky, a pensive calm all around punctuated by the tinkling of tiny bells under the ceilings -- creating as it were

an image of a disembodied omnipresence. The deity being evoked was Mahākāla -- in the sonorous voice of the hefty Mongols where we could recognise a Sanskrit word here and there. The boundaries of the templum seem to fade into a deification and the entire atmosphere led to a state of ecstasy where we saw the images of the gods with the eyes of the spirit, not with those of the flesh. The cosmic consciousness seemed to pervade those moments of worship. Such is the divinity of the Tantric music that was carried by our ācāryas to Tibet and the Northern Lands of the various Mongol tribes. It is the infinity of the spiritual condition translated into sound, that is being preserved at the Berlin institute.

Another is the State Museum of Berlin which houses the art of India that had crossed over to the Central Asian oases through the ancient Gandhārodyāna region. The great German archaeological explorers have gathered here wall paintings of exquisite chiaroscuro. Some of them aim at illusive effects so that the composition harmonises with the movements of the faithful during the rite of pradakṣiṇā. These paintings are true to the traditions of our śilpaśāstras. The figure of the worshipper from the Cave of the Coffered Ceiling at Qyzyl corresponds closely to the technique of foreshortening laid down in the śilpaśāstras under the designation kṣaya-vṛddhi: the face of the figure is turned to the left, the receding parts of the face are contracted, the more visible parts enlarged, the former obeying the law of kṣaya, the latter of vṛddhi. Mural illustrating Gopāla has a vigorous quality and seems to mirror an early stage of a Vaiṣṇava subject. The Staatliche Museum, presents a brilliant record of Indian art, integrated with Central Asian genius. This art gives a material embodiment to the eternal values of our spiritual cosmos which we have shared with other Asian lands.

The famed Berlin chair of Sanskrit is in East Berlin. We crossed over at the famous 'Checkpoint'. The face of the controlling officer lit up with a friendly smile on seeing my Indian passport. After elaborate passport controls, an official arrived to check the car: he had the back opened and carefully inspected it. The seats were taken off and examined. When a thorough inspection was over we were permitted to move into the Eastern parts of the city. Old Berlin architecture is intact and old buildings bear bullet marks of the Second World War. In a few minutes we stood in front of the solid buildings of the Humboldt University of Berlin, where great professors of Sanskrit had truly and solidly laid the foundations of Indological learning. Now under changed political circumstances the emphasis is on modern Indian languages. In Berlin is also situated the museum where are housed the epoch-making discoveries of Professor Hugo Winckler from Böghaz-koi in Turkey. These collections of cuneiform tablets contain treaties

between the Mitanni and Hittite Kings in 1400 B.C. The deities witnessing the treaties are Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nāsatya. These gods are from the R̥gveda and it is the earliest extra-Indian reference to the Vedic pantheon. These ancient lithic relics had been sanctified by the chanting of Vedic hymns. The Turkish site Böghaz-koi has also yielded an ancient manual of chariot-racing in the Hittite language by the Mitanni author named Kikkuli whose technical terms are derived from Sanskrit.

In the company of my brother-in-law, Shri Rakesh Lohia, and sister Dr. Sushama Lohia I visited the ancient Benedictine monastery situated on the picturesque lake of Maria Laach. Here resides an old Polish Count by the name of Dr. P. Cyrill von Korvin-Krasinski who has taken up the monastic robes. He has specialised in Tibetan and Mongolian Āyurveda and is trying to experiment on its materia medica. His colleague met us at the gates of the monastery and let us to the waiting room whose austerity was a sharp contrast to the splendour of the homes of the laity. Dr. Krasinski entered the room and greeted us with a smile that seemed to encompass the fulfilment of an eagerness of a long-desired meeting. He opened his portfolio, took out a letter and handed it over to me. It was an invitation from father (Prof. Raghu Vira) to him for a visit to India. The monk Dr. Krasinski was moved and so were we, and in an emotion-choked voice he asked for a fresh invitation to come to India, the home of the medical system of Tibet and Mongolia. I consented to do so and the conversation drifted to the Mongolian literature on Āyurveda. We covered not only texts but also the botanical identification of herbs mentioned in them. Father Korvin-Krasinski related how he had the privilege of having W. Badmajew as his guru in Mongolian Āyurveda in Warsaw. He was the son of the famous Siberian Doctor N.N. Badmaev who was well known in Leningrad for his Āyurvedic practice and his great success in this therapy. His patients included prominent communist leaders like Bukharin, Rykov, the author Alexei Tolstoy and on several occasions he was even summoned to visit Stalin. The People's Commissar of Health Kaminsky had such a high opinion of him that a special department was established under Dr. Feodorov at Leningrad. Even Prof. Ilin of the Military Medical Academy was in this department. During the great Communist purge the department was abolished and the persons liquidated. The son of Badamaev fled to Poland where Father Krasinski met him. Father Krasinski related that Badmaev Jr. had given him a number of Siberian medical preparations. I promptly requested him to show me some. He hesitated. They were upstairs in his room and ladies were not permitted to enter any except the waiting room. My sister was equally keen to see them. Father Krasinski said that he would bring down one. He brought a bottle and spoke about its efficacy and was very sad that now

he would not have it again as his Siberian guru Badmaev was no more alive. I requested Father Krasinski to show me a bit of his admirable drug. And lo ! it was the ubiquitous *hiṅgvaṣṭaka cūrṇa*. I reverted to Krasinski: "It is found in every Indian household. You can get it, certainly you can have it again." Now Krasinski was even more insistent on a visit to India to study at the very fountainhead of the medicine of Tibet, Mongolia and Siberia.

I visited the two thousand year old temple of Mithra or God Sūrya in the very heart of London and saw throughout the European academic circles, their rewarding efforts to understand the centuries of our strivings towards the higher and deeper meaning of Man's fulfilment. I shall skip over the numerous experiences of my European visit and pass on to the major mission which took me to Europe. It was to enlarge father's collection of microfilms of Mongolian texts which were translations of Sanskrit works most of them lost to us today. These microfilms comprise over three thousand Indian texts ranging from profane literature like grammar and prosody (*chandaḥ-śāstra*) to the knowledge centred in *adhyātma-vidyā* or the exploration of the Self. One may find here the *Kālacakra* expressing the inexhaustible wealth of the tantric vision in its last phases in India. *Hevajra* and *Mahāmāyā*, *Mahākāla*, *Kālī*, *Maheśvara*, *Garuḍa* besides a host of others are evoked and worshipped to transcend the samsaric plane, in countless texts. We may read the time-honoured Sanskrit grammars of *Cāndra*, *Kalāpa* and *Pāṇini* in their Mongolian translations besides special treatises on the Sanskrit prefixes (*upasarga*) and declensions (*vibhakti*). *Amarakośa* the Sanskrit lexicon, *Kāvyaḍarśa* of *Daṇḍin* on literary art, the *Chandoratnākara* of *Ratnākaraśānti* on metrics in Mongolian translations have influenced the course of Mongolia's scholarly tradition. The Mongolian *Meghadūta* takes our *Kālidāsa* to the snowy North. A number of medical texts, including alchemy are a part of this encyclopaedic Indo-Mongol corpus. This corpus has been acclaimed by the Mongolian people as "the pearl of our literature", and for us forms a golden link in the historic immensity of India's Perennial Spirit as it unfolded in many lands and climes. This vast corpus exists in a single, a unique complete copy at Ulanbator the capital of the Mongolian People's Republic. My father had eagerly waited for many many years to get this gigantic set in a film copy. At long last India was free and father had an opportunity to travel to Mongolia at a time when the temperature froze to minus - 60 degrees below zero. In spite of the spine-chilling cold father was happy to be there to accomplish the dream of a life time. He found a fertile soil. The Mongols had awaited the advent of an *Ācārya* for three centuries. They hailed him as an *Ācārya* of the Twentieth Century. The epithet *Ācārya* has a unique effulgence in the mind of the

Mongol. It embraces a magical reverence sanctified by faith and devotion going back to over three centuries when the last of Indian Ācāryas treaded to the "Northern Land" and took with them the stories of Lord Kṛṣṇa, King Vikramāditya and King Bhoja which have lived to this day in the remotest yurts, recounted by grandparents and parents to eager children round cosy fires in *ger* (or tents of felt) unshaken by sweeping whizzing winds in temperatures threatening to freeze human blood.

Except one or two, the temples are no more. No fragrance rises to the skies from man-high incensoirs. The perpetual flame -- the akhaṇḍa-jyoti -- in huge ancient oil lamps flickers no more. A generation whose inner being could attune itself to sādhanā lives not. The temple gongs no longer summon the faithful. The painter's brush no more delineates the world of gods with the humming of bījas and mantras. Mongol astrologers look not into the almanacs or pañcāṅgas for finding the pūrṇimā (full-moon) to celebrate a holy day or to draw the eyes of a deity on a silken scroll. The voice of Dharma is muffled into a void and a silence. Man's ascent to the heights of humanism is replaced by a process of hominisation under a people's republic. Yet millenia of spiritual realisation cast their aura on the Mongol and in the shaking of hands and embrace of arms there was inconceivable warmth towards the Awaited one, Ācārya RaghuVira. While the yesteryears of the Mongols were enshrined in father, he loved the great Mongolian people in flesh and blood even more. And the Mongolian scholars, people and government did him unique honour -- his arms were laden with the precious gifts of their literary achievements. The gifts were microfilms of the complete Mongol literature that was a rendering of Sanskrit. He wrote:

"It is the Lord Himself
Who has blessed thee.
Rise and pay thy homage.
Thy ageless waiting has ended."

The end of the ageless waiting was to be followed by the homage, that is, the publication of this grand corpus. The first step was to enlarge the microfilms. It was a problem to do so on photographic paper. The tone of sensitised paper could not pick up the contrast of the letters and the background. The microfilm itself had a weak contrast because of the original whose red lettering merged into the paper turned reddish-yellow by time. For five long years we tried several ways and means, projectors, and screens but the most successful was a projection hypostatized on white paper whose brilliance has not been dimmed by a chemical sensitization. To read these microfilms clearly father even went to the length of preparing a special table with superfine optics with the cooperation

of a Danish scientist who was a specialist of rocket lenses, but the blueprints and calculations were completed just the day he was in eternal sleep ! Since then I talked to several scholars and the Germans agreed to experiment for the most favourable enlargements of father's Mongolian collection as a tribute to him. This took me to Germany and we experimented in a number of laboratories. The best results were attained by electrostatic enlargement, which to my amazement was on brilliant white paper and that unsensitized! It confirmed father's surmise as to the means which could lead us to the optimum. The enlargements run into an astounding length of 25 miles! I do not know how exultant, exuberant, ecstatic and rhapsodized father would have been to see this gigantic procession of 25 miles of his life-long dream !

I dedicate these precious moments to thee,
Who fills it fully and completely.

Now my heart is a-brim with tears. My father summons me to the world of Hindi words, to create them for thirty years, to fulfil his pledge for the linguistic rejuvenation of India and thereby redeem my sonhood of him. My destination is fashioned out of adamant. (5.11.1964)

18. BUDDHISM AS A PAN-HUMAN SYNDROME

As a historical phenomenon, Buddhism is one of the most grandiose edifices of the human spirit. It has been the dynamic equilibrium of Asia, living in a centripetal world of implication, creating incredible heights, divinely pure and sparkling in their substance. It has been the glory and silence of inexplicable and obscure pages of time, and still it is supremely alive and deeply touches the hearts of men to our day. Like a musical instrument, it vibrates to the hidden impulses that govern the breath of the universe. It is the awareness of a life beyond forms and ideas, wherein the individual subconscious merges into the object of its thought, into the Ineffable. In the course of 2,500 years it has exercised an abiding influence on the minds and horizons of India, on Indo-Greek principalities that arose in wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great, Central Asian kingdoms, the Middle Kingdom of China, Korea the Land of Morning Calm, Japan the Country of the Rising Sun, Vietnam, Tibetan Region, Mongolia, Siberia, Srilanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Kampuchea, and Indonesia. It has inspired whole literatures. Some of the most noble works of man are the contribution of Buddhism. The universal implications of Buddhism are vast qualitatively, as well as in terms of quantum: embracing every form of human activity, tracing esoteric and philosophical developments, political and social history, ordinary life and proto-technological discoveries. It has been a mighty propulsive force in the onward march of ideas and a profound movement kissing the hearts of men with *karuṇā* or compassion, leading to peace eternal.

The intrinsic strength of Buddhism lay in its lofty moral sense, the universality of its message, the serenity of its tenor, its scorn for excesses, its golden mean, and above all the personality of Lord Śākyamuni, so serene, so strong, so fascinating, and so human. The pain of life became the poem of Primal Buddhism. It sought a dispassionate analysis of the causes of suffering and a scientific search for their remedy. Away from ritual, the human personality and its will for virtue were elevated to a supreme place. The gods became poetical figures, possessing the majestic and crystalline impersonality of principles that govern the universe. Inner development was what lay in the very centre of the All.

As happens when a spiritual movement is alive, Buddhism diversified. Variations arose due to interpretations. The inexorable trend of geospiritual forces contributed to transformations. The Buddha Śākyamuni was transformed from Master into Lord. Solar myths, fire cults and immemorial fantasies transmuted him into an idealised figure. The Enlightened One became the Enlightening One, the Radiator of Light. From Buddha the

interest shifted to the abstraction of Buddhahood. From an individual he became a symbol, the science of Buddhahood. Nirvāṇa was transformed into paradise, and karma became modifiable by prayer. Elaborate patterns emerged. Buddhism was face to face with the Absolute, the Ultimate, the First, the Eternal, the Everlasting and the All-pervading which now was the adamant purity of the Ādi-Buddha. With metaphysical daring this Eternal *par excellence*, definable by negatives alone, became the bejewelled sambhoga-kāya passionately embracing his transcendent consort or prajñā. Extreme serenity was identified with extreme passion, the crystal light with the fire of love, the intangible with all the intoxication of the senses. Sensuality and symbolism, metaphysical filigree of jewels, caresses and cerebrality, earth and sky were celebrated in proportion and serenity, in portraiture and cryptograms. Hymns incarnated into miniatures and scrolls, and into statues to carry eternal depths to the eyes of the faithful of the earth.

The invasion of Alexander in the fourth century B.C. was prompted, *inter alia*, by the vast quantum of golden tablets on which Zoroastrian scriptures were preserved with loving care under the Achaemenians. A sumptuous copy of the Scriptures on gold was deposited in the 'Stronghold of Records' at Persepolis and another set inscribed on golden tablets was preserved in the treasury of the fire-temple at Samarkand. Both these archetype copies vanished in the invasion of Alexander in 330 B.C. when he put to fire the palace at Persepolis and when he razed Samarkand to the ground. The Iranian-speaking lands henceforth stood culturally denuded. Buddhism filled the vacuum. These Udīcyā regions in the northwest of India became alive in the transmission of Buddhism to Central Asia. The foundations of Khotan had been laid by the son and ministers of emperor Aśoka in the third century B.C., as we are informed by two Chinese and by two Tibetan sources. Buddhism, Sanskrit, and Indian scripts were in vogue in Khotan. A new Buddhist *oikoumene* was in the offing. Buddhist monasteries with hundreds of monks arose on our NW. frontiers and across Central Asian routes that led to the greening of these desert areas. Mighty literary movements were generated. The Parthians, and not Indians, were the earliest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The very first translator was Parthian prince An Shih-kao 安世高, who translated the Sukhāvati-vyūha into Chinese. The Iranian world-view had a profound influence on the development of Buddhism, while Buddhism enriched Iranian-speaking peoples by giving them scripts for trade and administration and a spiritual culture to win the hearts of the vast imperium and unsatiable emporium that China was and remains so.

In 138 B.C. Chang Ch'ien, the envoy of the Chinese Emperor, took back musical instruments and MahāTukhāra melodies from Kucha to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an.

The son-in-law of the Emperor Wu-ti wrote 28 new tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Along with Buddhism, the Tokharians of Central Asia introduced milk to China. The Chinese ideograph *lo* 酪, pronounced *lak* in ancient times, which meant various kinds of fermented milk products, was a loan from Indo-European (Latin *lactic*). The peach and pear reached India in the reign of Kaniṣka and hence they were known as *cīnāni* and *cīna-rājaputra*. Paper had been manufactured out of silk in Han times, but with the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled *Ku-chin tzu-ku* where the silk radical 糸 of the character *chih* 紙 for silk is replaced by 帛 with the cotton radical 巾, after the invention by Ts'ai Lun. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from Kashmīr and East Bengal to China in the second century B.C.

With Buddhism, sugar came to China. Sugar is termed *shi-mi* 石蜜 'stone honey' in the Sui Annals (ch.87 f.7b), which renders the Sanskrit *śarkarā*, from *śarkara* 'granules, stonelets'. In A.D. 285 Kambuja included sugar-cane in its tribute to China. In A.D. 647 Emperor Tai-tsung sent a mission to Magadha to study the secrets of boiling sugar. This method was adopted by the sugarcane growers of Yang-chou (T'ang Annals, ch. 100 f. 21). The official history of the Sui dynasty, completed in A.D. 610, contains a catalogue of Sanskrit works on astronomy, mathematics, calendrical methods and pharmaceuticals under the generic caption of P'o-lo-mên or Brahmin Books. The earliest specimen of printing from China is a printed sheet with the figure of the Six-armed goddess Pratisarā in the centre and with Sanskrit mantras in the ornamental Rañjanā script, written concentrically around the figure. It is dated A.D. 757. Printing flourished as an integral part of Buddhist requirements of large number of sūtras and mantras for mass distribution by bereaved descendants so that their deceased parents may acquire due merit. The book in Buddhism was a written medium of spans of inner space. Sūtras sanctified the state: for instance the *Jên-wang-ching* 仁王經 or Kāruṇika-rāja-sūtra brought protection, peace and prosperity to the country. The collective sought its continuity in the enduring flow of the Dharma of the Tathāgata. Buddhist monasteries fortified the trade caravans on the Silk Route and it ensured the flow of art and thought, as well as gave rise to a Buddhist *oikoumene*. Buddhist Central Asia and East Asia were linked in their Buddhist faith. When the Chinese refused aid to the prince of Tashkent in 751, the battle of Talas River was lost. It proved to be one of the decisive battles of world history. This region, which had been a stronghold of Buddhism from its earliest times, succumbed to Islam. The contacts of China with India declined and thereby the receptivity of China was replaced by xenophobia. In 828, Emperor Wên-tsung had an

image of Avalokiteśvara set up in each of the 44,600 monasteries of the empire. In 1950 about a million Buddhist shrines, stupas, temples and monasteries had sanctified the sprawling spaces of China. A Chinese poem speaks of the new moon, the flowing clouds, the drizzling rains and the blooming white lotus in one breath. The White Lotus refers to Buddhism, which is inextricably interwoven with the woods, lakes, mountains and warm hearts of China.

Korea, a peninsula jutting out from the northeast corner of the Asian continent is one of the three major cultural entities of East Asia, significantly affected by continental influences of Buddhism. Yet, in its peculiar environment it has created an art with characteristics uniquely Korean. In 384 the monk Mallānanda (Korean Marananta) brought Buddhism to Paekche, together with scholars, painters, sculptors and architects. Following T'ang models, the Silla capital Kyongju had Buddhist temples throughout the city, countless Buddhist images were cast and political and social systems were influenced by Avatamsaka thought. The famous Silla pilgrim Hyech'o visited India and wrote an informative account of his travels to India. The Great Silla was replaced by the Kōryo in 935. Buddhism was the national religion under Kōryo. To secure the assistance of Śākyamuni in times of stress the Tripiṭaka was carved on 80,000 woodblocks over two hundred years, beginning in the reign of King Munjong (1047-82). The printing blocks were destroyed by fire during the Mongol invasion. They were carved anew and completed by 1251. These blocks are still preserved at the Haein-sa monastery and are a national treasure of Korea's cultural history. The famed celadon wares of Kōryo were intimately connected with Dhyāna Buddhism. In the beautiful deep of blue porcelain were reflected the ideal planes of Dhyāna. In 1443 the Hangeul script was developed in Korea on the pattern of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The Pulguk-sa is the oldest surviving Buddhist monastery of Korea, founded around A.D. 535. It means: *pul* 'Buddha', *guk* 'land', *sa* 'monastery', a monastery that springs from the depths of Buddhism, to celebrate the new dynamic and vital order that was to determine the whole tonality of Korean life. In the middle of the eighth century it was rebuilt and enlarged by King Kyongdok. The same master architect built the rock chapel of Sokkur-am a mile away, on the crest of mount Toham-san. It enshrines the best Korean sculptures of all times. They are reminiscent of the sculptural glories of T'ang China, and yet are unique in their ethereal quality. Superb examples of warm naturalism. They sprout from the passion of everything that the eyes embraced, celebrating its essence in the eternity of stones:

"There is a tradition that the sculptor who carved these bas-reliefs was in love with the King's daughter and used her as the model for the images of Avalokiteśvara in order to immortalize her beauty".

The piety of the patron and the tender love of the sculptor sinks into the silent rapture of these live sculptures in their kissed limbs, smiling in flowing drapery and deep solitude. Over the centuries Buddhism was the creativity and supportive philosophy of all facets of life in Korea.

The vast Japanese world is referred to as *karyu-kai*, that is, 'the world of flowers and willows'. From an impirium of sensitive and sinuous ideograms it has come to be the *Troisième Grand* in one century. The *wakon yosai* 'Japanese Spirit and Western technology' is the space where jet age modernity is an intimate companion to her ancient frontiers of myth, proverb and folksong. Much of what moves modern Japanese to leap forward is due to their roots that carry vital fluids from Dharma, from the craft of busshi or sculptors of statues in conjunction with the cold abstract researches in the stream of an international style. The monastic gardens of Kyoto are spaces disciplined with elegant serenity, into families of rectangles and squares: from their depths new spring steps out. The stones set in a carpet of moss, await the bare feet of a goddess. The Land of the Rising Sun, combines action and art in a new paradigm of 'Sun and Steel'

In sixth century Japan, Buddhism made a stormy entry on a scene where virulent civil war between the Soga and Monobe clans in A.D. 587 ended in the victory of Soga who espoused Buddhism. A religion of peace and moral grandeur, it contributed to far-reaching political, social and spiritual advances. It was the Korean kingdom of Paekche whence Japan received her Dharma and along with it her first scribes, painters and calligraphers, an event deemed momentous enough to be recorded in the *Nihon Shoki* in the years A.D. 463, 544, 588, etc. Astrologers, landscape architects, pharmacists, painters, bridge-builders and bhiksus arrived. Japan emerged from the limbo of her prehistory under Prince Shotoku (A.D. 574-621) who drew up her first Constitution in Seventeen Articles wherein the Triratna (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) were a fundamental factor. The new order was consecrated by the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī, whose Sanskrit manuscript is preserved at the Horyu-ji monastery.

In A.D. 806 Kobo Daishi returned to Japan with the new way of Shingon or mantrayāna, wherein every individual was a potential Buddha. This led to the universalisation of education. The personal contacts of Kobo Daishi with the great Kashmirian Prajñātāra during his sojourn in China, were to produce a profound effect on the cultural evolution of Japan. After his return, Kobo Daishi started spreading education to the

common man. Till then education had been restricted to the privileged classes, and only children of families above the fifth rank could attend academies and universities. Kobo Daishi opened the Shugei Shuci-in "Institution of General Arts and Wisdom" for children of all classes. The courses were both secular and sacred. To democratise and advance literacy, Kobo Daishi invented the syllabary of Fifty Sounds (*goju-on*), starting *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. Its basis was the Sanskrit alphabet. He further wove the entire alphabet into a poem termed *Iroha*. This *Iroha* poem--wherein the complete alphabet of 50 letters was included and each letter occurred only once--was literary marvel. It speaks of the gleaming colours that blow away, the deep mountains of ephemeral life, shallow dreams, and the crossing over them all--one of the greatest poems in the Japanese language it was inspired by the Sanskrit work *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. Every Japanese child learns it in the kindergarten. The Japanese State was protected by Shingon. In A.D. 823 Kobo Daishi established the monastery of Kyo-o-gokoku-ji "Temple of the Protection of the Land through the Noble Dharma", at Kyoto.

Kobo Daishi's major work *Hizō-hoyaku* begins with an invocation to the Sanskrit alphabet as the dharma-maṇḍala:

I take refuge in That One

Who is Adamantine Life of all beings,

Transcendental, Immaculate, Causeless, and Infinite

[Mahāvairocana]

In the Silent One

Ka the Evolving, *Ca* the Involving, *Ṭa* the Majestic

Ta the Suchness, *Pa* the ultimate Truth, and

Ya the absolute Vehicle on which all beings are carried forth.

[Dharma-

Herein the Sanskrit alphabet is expressed by:

maṇḍala]

ka-varga

kārya

evolving

ca-varga

cyuti

involving

ṭa-varga

ṭaṅka

majestic

ta-varga

tathatā

Suchness

pa-varga

paramārtha-satya

the Ultimate Truth

ya to ha

yāna

the Vehicle

Buddhism encompassed the living skills and arts of Japan. Gagaku, the Buddhist music of the T'ang court, has survived upto modern times and is the supreme expression of Japanese music. Assimilation has been a vigorous philosophy in Japan in the *honji-suijaku* 本地垂迹 theory. Hereby indigenous Japanese gods became manifestations

of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. It became the foundation on which the convergence of the Japanese Spirit and Western technology has worked wonders.

Buddhism has conditioned to the minutest detail the life and thought of Tibet inspite of its forbiddingly high mountains, untamed rivers, deep gorges, immense waterless deserts and icy howling winds. The Tibetan script, grammar, vocabulary, literary style, paintings, medicine, astronomy, folksongs--all bear the deep impress of Buddhism. Entire literature, whether translated from Sanskrit or the flame of intellectual life it kindled by whose inspiration Tibetan literature arose and evolved, centre around Buddhism. For all knowledge is centred in the *nañ-rig* or exploration of the Inner Deeps. The warm reality of Tibetan life pulsates in the vibrant levels of her Buddhist culture.

Buddhism reached Mongolia in the sixth century, when two Buddhist teachers Śākyavarṃśa and Narendrayaśas went and worked there. Ever since, Buddhism has been the subtle invasion of the spirit, setting the heart and soul of the Mongols on fire. It replaced to a degree nomadic life by a sedentary civilisation. It brought peace to the Mongols and a high degree of civilisation which was the envy of Russian deportees in the 17th and 18th centuries. This can be seen in the open air ethnographic museums in Siberia where the residences of the Buryats stand far ahead of the Russian homes. The 334 huge volumes of the Buddhist Canon at the Library of the Academy of Sciences are loved by the Mongolian people as "pearls of our literature". You may hear the Mongolian Professor Rinchen relate with pride: "If you happen to stop in any yurt, the first one falling on your way in the vast steppes, where the night may overtake you, before the fire of a hearth you will hear from the mouth of an old shepherd the philosophical poem *Bodhicaryāvatāra* composed by the famous Indian poet and thinker, Śāntideva, well known to Europeans through the beautiful translation by Finot and translated into the Mongolian language already in the thirteenth century. You will not be surprised if the old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock near the grazing herds, having come to know you to be a philologist will enter into animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the seventeenth century the level of which was achieved by European linguists only during the last century".

Genoese merchants secured Mongol slaves from traders wholesaling in the Black Sea ports (Lazari, *Del traffico e delle condizione degli shiavi in Venezia nel tempe di mezzo*, 1862, 1.470). Thousands of these 'Tartar' slaves worked in every major Italian city, which reached its climax in the middle of the 15th century. These Buddhist slaves

used hot-air turbines for turning their prayer-cylinders. This gave rise to screw propellor of ships, and steam-jet blowers in the shape of birds dateable to 1579.

The Museum of Revolution at Ulanbator has preserved a conch. More than sixty years ago, a young Mongol, Sukhebator by name, blew a conch to summon his countrymen to the Revolution whereby came into being the second socialist state of the world and the first of Asia, lying in the very heart of the Asian continent. The national flag of Mongolia is Soyombo with a golden five-pointed star, topped by an emblem of the semilune, circle and soaring sonance: the *candra*, *bindu* and *nāda* of *praṇava*. Let us not forget that Goraksh was the first Mongolian cosmonaut to go into *sansar*. Space is *sansar* in modern Mongolian. Buddhism is the invariable presence in the long time and lonely sublime of Mongolia.

The most magnificent cultural presence of Indonesia is the historic cosmogram of Borobudur, the grey silence of endless stone reliefs, enshrining the vision of a king in an ecstasy of form. Conceived and concretised by a poet, thinker and architect, named Guṇadharmā, it holds the heart in rapture in transcreating adoration along the path of endless time. The Indonesian word for independence is *merdeka*, derived from the Buddhist term *maharddhika*. The Constitution of Indonesia is called *Pancasila*, evidently from Buddhist terminology. The national motto *Bhinneka tunggal ika* 'unity in diversity' is derived from the Buddhist poem Sutasoma Kakawin in the Classical Kawi language.

In the light and languid clime of Kampuchea, into the spacious majesty of Angkor Vat, monument follows on monument, ruins edge upon ruins, the walls of vegetation screen and hide and curtain, masonry masses mingle into the fantastic flowering of the jungle. By moonlight these buildings take on an appearance of solid majesty which is awe-inspiring. In the twilight gloom of these jungles a naga slithers over the Sensuous limbs of an apsara petrified in a seductive pose of her dance in honor of a Devarāja of lost Angkor. The shrines seem to have been transported by divine magic straight from the Land of Śākyamuni.

Buddhism is a panorama that unfolds the perennial flow of culture and civilization in Srilanka, Burma, Thailand, and Laos. It has shed glamour on man's existence in these lands as elsewhere. In the words of poet Tagore, Buddhism is the eternal seeking:

To bathe in the living stream that flows in thy heart,
Whose water descends from the snowy height of a sacred time,
On which arose, from the deep of my country's being,
The sun of Love and Righteousness.

19. BUDDHISM AND THE ORIGIN OF PRINTING TECHNOLOGY

In Classical India, the book incarnated the threshold, the power, the wonder of the mantra. The meditational realisation of the mantra, its appropriate conceptualisation as meaning stood in need of its enunciation as a written symbol. The words written down thus reflected the spans of inner space. The book in India was a visual medium of an intrinsic dimension.

When Lord Buddha emerged as a new horizon of a new universe the richness of his integrated vision, the beauty and luminosity of his pure experience, was to be irradiated among the many, the lowly, the grass-roots so that they may be participants in the moral grandeur which shined in from every window, for now no burglar dare carry off the moon. For the first time in Indian history Lord Buddha conceived of his message of the good and happiness of the many, or in his own words *bahujana-hitāya bahu-jana-sukhāya*. This was to produce a profound and ever-continuing effect on the cultural evolution of man. The new message was to be the potential privilege of all, and not a prerogative of only the predestined few as it had been hitherto. Thus the proletariat in all its immensity was to be the beneficiary and mass communications were to come into being. The monks of Buddha's order roamed all over and earned the nickname of *bahu-bollakāḥ*, that is, those who spoke a lot. New ways had to be found for the message to be disseminated to the vast masses in all its impressiveness. It had to be done on the triple plane of *kāya* or body, *vāk* or word, and *citta* or spirit. The physical plane was the image, statue or painting, the body of the essence. The verbal plane was the voice, the word, the sheet, the roll, the scroll, the book. The spiritual plane was represented by a *caitya* (from the word *citta* meaning 'spirit'): When a *caitya* was constructed every one of its bricks had to be consecrated with a mantra. King Aśoka is credited with the construction of 84,000 *caityas* which in fact is a misinterpretation of a special type of *caityas* which had 84,000 bricks and each of the bricks was consecrated with mantras. Such a *caitya* required 84,000 mantra-sheets. Imposing statues were consecrated with millions of mantras. Heretofore sacred books had been secretively transmitted but in the Buddhist dispensation, distribution of the *sūtras* or sacred scriptures became an act of special merit and evoked an overpowering response from the masses; the depths of life itself came alive in adoring admiring hearts. The need to multiply the written word was imperative. In moments of unknowing long last man was at the threshold of proto-technology of printing. All the early literary evidence from China and Japan points to India as the source of printing techniques. The assumption of a East Asian origin is beset with doubts.

In the seventh century the famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (635-713) travelled and studied in India. On his return back home, he stayed at Palembang (Sumatra, Indonesia) during the years 689-692 where he wrote his celebrated memoirs *Man-hai chi kwei nei-fa-chuan*. In these 'Records' he states that "In India they bake clay *caitya* and mould clay images, or they print [images] on silk or paper for worship whatever it be." This is the oldest statement in the world concerning printing on paper or silk. The earliest printed item from China dates from A.D. 757. It is a single printed sheet, with the figure of six-armed goddess Pratisarā in the centre, with Sanskrit *mantras* written in the ornamental Rañjanā script concentrically around the figure. These were excavated in 1944 from a grave of the T'ang t'u-lu, Peking. Thus the oldest extant printed item is in Sanskrit and of Buddhist content. The next items are 1,000,000 small *mantra* scrolls printed between A.D. 762-770 in Japan to be deposited in the great temples of the realm. They are Sanskrit *mantras* transcribed into Chinese characters. The world's oldest printed book dated 11 May 868, is the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* on transcendental wisdom, which is now in the British Museum, printed on paper, with a frontispiece showing the Buddha preaching to the aged Apostle Subhūti who is kneeling on the ground. It was printed at the order of Wang Chieh for the well-being of his parents. Thus, the first printed book known to the world is Buddhist.

In A.D. 856 the Yin family bookshop on T'ai miao Front Avenue at Lin-an-Fu i.e., Hang-chou (Chekiang) printed 84,000 copies of a book embellished with a frontispiece showing people worshipping a *stūpa*. These small book scrolls were to be enshrined in a set of 84,000 small gilded bronze *stūpas*, one of which is preserved at the Yurinkan Museum at Kyoto. In 975 the same book was printed again in 84,000 copies for being placed as an offering in the bricks of the 'Thunder Hill Pagoda'. Having stood for a thousand years, the Pagoda collapsed on 25 September 1924. Every brick had a hole and in each a *sūtra* was inserted. The Pagoda had been calculated in a way that it would have exactly 84,000 bricks, to escape rebirth in 84,000 species of life.

Buddhism gave birth to printing in India, whence it spread to East Asia and flourished as an integral part of Buddhist requirements of vast quanta of printed *mantras* for ensuring their grace of liberation, and also for mass scale distribution of *sūtras* by the bereaved descendants so that their deceased parents may acquire full merit. All the Buddhist manuscripts end with the formula that any merit that has been acquired by the person commissioning it may accrue to beings all over the universe. Alongwith the fading out of Buddhism in India, the technique of printing must have lost its context and *raison d'être* and hence no direct evidence survives on Indian soil.

20. NALANDA

My gratitude to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, to the Director of the Nalanda Mahavihara and to his colleagues for honouring me as vidyā-vāridhi. I am fully aware that our ever-advancing knowledge of the immense systems developed at Nalanda keeps receding into the unknown, tempting us to the light that keeps vigil on the far horizon. Every light that we try to shed, is but a flicker of the vast ungrasped illumination.

What an honour to be here at Nalanda, in this place that stands in our heart, in our cathedral of silence, recaptured in a reality that is a dream, a place bathed in eternal dawn, open to the winds of our youth and beyond. A seat of learning that encloses infinity. A sanctum where Buddhism became a living and constantly developing force, keenly alive to the immensity of ideas in the vastness of time, ever inviting us to come out of ourselves into expanding Consciousness: oh, my roads and their cadence. A dynamic path, seeing life flowing by in multiplicity of yāna, it was here that Buddhism surged forth in symbols and forms as innumerable as the sands of sacred Gaṅgā.

A spot hallowed by the presence of Lord Buddha's residence at Pravarikāmravana, Nalanda blossomed under the great emperor Aśoka who erected a stūpa in honour of Śāriputra and consecrated it with imperial offerings. Glorified in Pali texts like the Brahmajālasutta and Mahāparinibbāna-sutta, it became the poetics of space for Buddhism.

The mahāsiddhas were transported to the serene beatitude of ecstasis here in this very Nalanda. Bhusuku the mahāsiddha visualised his iṣṭadeva Mañjuśrī at Nalanda, wrote śāstras and went skywards. Candragomin and Vāgīśvara the two mahāsiddhas had become jñānasattvas at Nalanda. Their serenity spreads out before our eyes in Tibetan painted scrolls or thankas.

In ninth century Japan, Buddhism culminated in a new horizon, a paradigm of a new universe of mantrayanic Shingon. It was the beginning of a cultural renaissance in this Land of the Rising Sun. All this was due to the translation of Sanskrit works like the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, Susiddhikara-sūtra, Vajraśekhara-tantra into Chinese by a galaxy of great masters like Śubhākarasiṃha (637-735), Vajrabodhi, and Prājña of Nalanda who triggered the emergence of a new spiritual energy, all touched by the breath of the spirit and form of the East Asian world of flowers and willows.

It was here that Hsüan-tsang was moved by the beauties of Nalanda, richly ornamented towers, red pillars, deep translucent ponds, its purity and peace, all imbued with the serenity of the "sweet dew" as he terms the Dharma of the Buddha.

Nalanda inspired great works in Chinese, Tibetan and other languages of Asia. It was here (675-685) that I-tsing translated the Śatapañcāśatka-stotra of Mātrceta, which he admires in the following words: "These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain"

Dharamadeva was the last monk of Nalanda who went to China in A.D. 973. He translated 118 works into Chinese including a Gaṇeśa-sūtra (Nj. 901) and a Sūtra spoken by Rāvaṇa on the curing of child diseases (Nj. 882).

Nalanda was the dream of Tibet, Mongolia and Siberia. Her symbol of two deer flanking the dharmacakra became the symbol of all their monasteries: an open door to cosmic images of a primal world of our deeps. Tārānātha the great historian of Tibet, calls Nalanda 'the mine of learning, the honoured Nalanda'.

The kings of Indonesia endowed Nalanda with a monastic centre in a continuing glory as an international seat of learning. In the words of the Inscription of Yaśovarman, नालन्दा हसतीव सर्वनगरीः / Nalanda summons India to a new awakening, in the very ecstasy of the newness of the image, where the critique of reason and the warmth of reality of life will converge into a free rationalism of human experience.

21. BUDDHISM AND WOMEN

Buddhism has kissed this world with compassion, enwoven light and love in the hearts of men, kindled lamps in the forlorn recesses of sombre shades of life, enlivened with logic dead dogmas, offered flowers and lit lamps in place of rituals of slaughter, tendered mercy to a dancing girl when she lay under the shadow of a wall, struck with black pestilence, her body spotted with sores, a body once drunk with the wine of her youth. Buddha, the Prince of Peace, brought silence to the arid heart of men who ceaselessly run in furious chases of victory. From the surging centuries of noise rises the prayer of love immeasurable: "Let Buddha be my refuge". It is the imperishable rhythm of great meaning that is to illumine times to come.

The linguistic world of India celebrates woman as the creatrix of human civilisation. As life begins in the ovum, for nine calendar months, she needs a shelter to bring forth life, away from the fury of elements. She, the mother, the maker of life, becomes the architect of shelter and protection. The Sanskrit *mātā*, Russian *mat*, and other cognate words in Indo-European languages, are from the root *mā* 'to make, produce, fashion, form, build'. Buddhism as the culminating expression of India's vision, was to give a leading role to woman, the symbol of life, of love, of wisdom, and of femininity itself.

In the long course of twentyfive centuries, in processes of its universalisation, Buddhism accorded rights to women long denied to them. In Japan, women were not permitted to write Chinese ideograms till the ninth century. As every being is a potential Buddha in Buddhism, a special form of abbreviated Chinese characters or *gana* was invented which could be used by women. Lady-in-waiting on the second wife of the-then Emperor, Lady Murasaki wrote the 'Tale of Genji' in A.D.1004 in the Hiragana script. It was the first great novel of Japan if not of the world, in beautiful classical Japanese and written by a woman. Women have enjoyed freedom in Tibet, Thailand, Laos, Srilanka and other Buddhist countries as marriage was not a religious ceremony, and consequently not a sacrament but a social event. Divorce and re-marriage could take place on the same day in these countries. All this feminine freedom goes back to Lord Buddha himself. A prince by birth and at heart he was for open attitudes, not a closed fist but an open hand, and a mind open to the logic of life.

On the very day of his Enlightenment, Sujātā offered food in a golden bowl to the Buddha still seated under the Tree of Illumination. He took the bowl, went to the river bank, bathed at the ford and ate the food. This was his only meal for forty-nine days.

Sujātā's meal is considered one of the most important offered to the Buddha, and the gods therefore added to it divine flavours. Sujātā was later on to become the foremost among laywomen to take refuge in the Triple Gem (Tri-ratna). The role of Sujātā in the life of the Enlightened One was historic. A modern Japanese chain-store of milk-products has prospered after being named Sujātā.

The Buddha extolled joy on the birth of a daughter: "When the Exalted One (the Buddha) was once at Śrāvastī, the Kosala King Prasenajit came to visit Him. One of the King's men arrived and, approaching the king, announced to his private ear that Queen Mallikā had given birth to a daughter. The king was not pleased.

Thereupon the Exalted One, discerning the matter, uttered on that occasion these verses:

A woman child, O lord of men, may prove
Even a better offspring than a male.
For she may grow up wise and virtuous."

The positive attitude of the Buddha towards women "ranks as one of his greatest claims to fame as a benefactor of the human race" (Miss I.B. Horner, Cambridge).

The conversion of Sujātā and her daughter-in-law took place soon after the first sermon at the Deer-Park. Five years were to intervene before Mahāprajāpatī, the aunt and also the foster-mother of the Buddha, was to lead a deputation for admission into the Order. The initial refusal of the Buddha saddened her and her womenfolk. They went away weeping, cut off their hair, put on saffron-coloured robes, adopting the symbols of renunciation. On the way they were met by Ānanda who was shocked to see them in this doleful plight. He undertook to plead their cause with the Buddha. The Buddha acceded to Ānanda's proposition:

And be it woman, be it man for whom
Such chariot doth wait, by that same car
Into Nirvāṇa's presence shall they come.

The establishment of the order of nuns gave noted preachers and brilliant speakers to Buddhism. The songs of the therīs or nuns are some of the earliest surviving poignant hymns by Indian women.

Viśākhā was the chief among female lay disciples who was declared by the Buddha to be the foremost among those who ministered to the Order. She fed five hundred monks daily at her house. In the afternoon, she would go round the monastery inquiring into the needs of the monks and the nuns. She had such a great reputation for bringing good fortune that the people of Śrāvastī always invited her to their houses on

festivals and holidays. She was appointed by the Buddha on committees set up to enquire into charges of breach of discipline. She was considered to be endowed with as reliable powers of discretion as men. Buddhism allowed full independence of judgment to its women members and it is a religion that does not differentiate between the capacity of the two sexes. The Buddha frequently consulted her, knowing that he could depend on her to give judgments based on ripe experience and unwarped by personal prejudices.

Āmrapālī was the beauty and grace of the city of Vaiśālī. Among her patrons was king Bimbisāra. One day she heard the Buddha. Gladdened by the discourse she invited him and the fraternity to a meal at her house the next day. He accepted. Shortly afterwards he received an invitation for the same day from the princely family of the Licchavis. He refused the Licchavis and kept his promise to her. She offered her 'mango-grove' to the order. Buddha welcomed the donation graciously. This was during his last visit to Vaiśālī shortly before nirvāṇa. Nineteen verses by Āmrapālī in the 'Songs of the Sisters' are a moving expression of the law of impermanence as illustrated in her own ageing body.

The Buddha named two women, Utpalavarṇā and Kṣemā, as foremost among nuns, just as Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were the foremost monks. In the Buddhist Canon, there is a constant parity of hierarchy of the two sexes.

"The Songs of Sisters" (Therīgathā) is spontaneity breaking forth in intense joy as the glorious truth flashed upon each woman. They are living evidence of courageous endeavour, and of personalities freed from bonds. When Buddha, the physician of minds, granted permission to women to enter the Order they were released from the vexations and tedium of the daily round, and as the verses testify they were as capable of treading the higher path as men. The vital will in woman triumphs in a verse of nun Somā who refuses to admit the relevance of sexes where arhatship is the aim.

How should the woman's nature hinder us?
Whose hearts are firmly set, who ever move
With growing knowledge onward in the Path?
What can that signify to one in whom
Insight doth truly comprehend the Norm?

What an appeal for the equality of women in the Saṃyutta-nikāya of the Buddhist Canon itself. The chief impulse of women seeking the cloister was the hope of freedom from daily cares and also the more transcendental release from the round of existences. Kṣemā, who had been the consort of King Bimbisāra, became distinguished for her deep insight (mahāprajñā). "Sage, accomplished, shrewd, widely learned, a brilliant orator, of

goodly ready wit" she was held by the Buddha as the standard to which others had to measure up to.

The Therīgāthā shows that women concentrated in meditation more intensely than men. The fervour of these women who rivet their attention on meditation, not distracted by natural beauties, endows a special depth to their insights. The Buddha was all courtesy to women. Once he went thirty leagues to allow a weaver's daughter to hear the preaching. She was unavoidably detained at home in discharge of her duties and he waited for her to begin the discourse. The Buddhist Canon celebrates the weighty contributions made by women to the Order during the life of the Master himself.

The cultural history of women in Buddhism presents them in the highest image. In the Lotus Sutra, which is the most popular scripture of East Asia, noble daughters and noble sons are invariably associated.

In the Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress, the Gaṇḍavyūha, the young wandering pilgrim Sudhana travels from city to city in search of a holy career, to fiftythree ideal teachers. They come from all walks of life and include women and goddesses. Each of them lifts a corner of the veil and helps young Sudhana to catch a glimpse of the resplendence of spiritual enlightenment. Sudhana comes to nun Lion-Yawn (Sinhavijmbhitā) who has made countless ingresses into the Perfection of Wisdom. She teaches trance-cognitive light meditation to the gods, to bodhisattvas and to others. Sudhana goes to nine more women and feminine deities, all of whom though of the laity are advanced on the path to enlightenment. Thousands of beings do obeisance to the laywoman Āśā sparkling with the radiance of her nobility. Prabhūtā, dressed in white clothes worn by the lay, is the embodiment of perfection. The sūtra says of her: "no one comes to see her whom she does not overwhelm with her physical and mental superiority, the lustre of her spiritual fire... And whoever might see the lay disciple Prabhūtā – be they gods or men – know her to be the teacher".

"The Sūtra of Vimalakīrti" focuses on a goddess who resides in Vimalakīrti's house. She playfully engages the eminent monk and disciple of the Buddha himself Śāriputra in a battle of wits. In an engaging display of satire and illusion, she eloquently wins her case. "The Sutra of Queen Śrīmālā" is another instance, among others in the Buddhist tradition, of its egalitarian view concerning women. It portrays the dignity and wisdom of a laywoman on the one hand, and the role of woman as a philosopher and teacher on the other.

The image of the feminine in Buddhist literature goes beyond the maternal. She represents the perfection of wisdom, the blissful, the compassionate, the instructor

revealing the truth. She is the queen of the Diamond Realm. In esoteric Buddhism, she is wisdom (*vidyā*), heroine (*śūrī*), and the noble insight (*prajñā*) born by reason of the most pure discrimination. She is the illusion-destroying power that initiates one into knowledge:

The great goddess located in the heart,
Causing the yogin's yoga.

She is the Earth Goddess whom the Buddha summons as witness to his enlightenment.

Buddhism with its pro-feminine sentiments posed problems to the Confucian systems of East Asia. Here males could not worship a female divinity, and the goddesses had to be replaced by symbols. Ladies could worship only goddesses and so the male Kuan-yin or Avalokiteśvara became the White-robed Goddess for them.

22. KANCHI AND THE CULTURAL EFFLORESCENCE OF ASIA

Kanchi: the euphoria of Asia. A French poet reflects: *O, mes chemins et leur cadence* "Oh, my roads and their cadence". Whereever are my roads, their cadence is Kanchi. The Annals of Han China speak of Kanchi. The dances of the languid climes of Thailand and Kampuchea become alive in the performances of Maṇimekhalā. The inscriptions, palmleaf manuscripts and geography of Indonesia retain poignant memories of the glories of Kanchi. It is a city that stands in the heart of Asia. It is the solemn geography of human transcendence: the metropolis of Esoteric Buddhism, of Buddhist mantrayāna. Where did I loose you, my trampled fantasies: in Kanchi. Kanchi is a concentrated universe, a dynamised centre, far beyond time. Mekhalā, Kanchi Oḍḍiyānam (the Tamil word for *kāñci* 'girdle') take us to the deeps to dream, to loose ourselves in the distant corridors of etymology, looking for treasures in words, riches of lost historic events and phenomena.

As Ganga was sacrosanct among rivers, so was Kanchi economically affluent and spiritually vibrant in the metropolitan cities of Classical India. She was one of the seven sacred cities:

*Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñcī Avantikā/
purī Dvāravatī caiva saptaitā mokṣa-dāyikāḥ//*

The prosperity of Kanchi due to maritime trade can be gleaned from Chinese historical works. Prof. Chin Khemu in his short history of the friendship of China and India (Peking 1984) speaks of historical contacts between China and Kanchi in the first century B.C. as evidenced by the Han Annals. These Annals of the Han Dynasty relate as to how Chinese ships left the shores of Kuang-chou and Haenan, journeyed for an year on the seas crossing several cities, and finally reached Huang-chi or Kanchi for the purchase of large pearls and jewels. The contacts with Kanchi had commenced in the reign of Emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.). This is the first reference to marine contacts between India and China. In the first century A.D., the usurper Wang-mang tried to get a rhinoceros from Kanchi. Rhinoceros is an aphrodisiac.

The kingdom of Kanchi must have been in touch with the Western world, as the Sangam classics Silappadhikaram 5.10 and Maṇimekhalā 19.107 speak of residences of Yavanas whose prosperity was never on the wane and of Yavana carpenters.

Maṇimekhalā in Southeast Asia. Puhar (Kāverīpaṭṭanam), Vanji and Kanchi were an economic, political and cultural triangle, interlinked by constant communications

and incessant travel. Maṇimekhalā, the heroine of the classic of the same name, is the issue of a tragic love affair between a merchant and a dancing girl. She is the ideal of chastity, charity and faith. She lives at Puhar the port of Kaveri, situated at the mouth of this river, which was one of the great markets between India and East Asia since the time of Ptolemy at the end of the second century A.D., and which remained such even in the time of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) and was destroyed in the 15th century by the silting up of the river. Maṇimekhalā then goes to Vanji (now called Karur), thereafter to Kanchi a prominent seat of Buddhist culture. Famine was ravaging the place. She visits the great temple raised in the centre of the city where there was a Bodhi tree of gold with leaves of emerald and she asks the king to construct at Kanchi a replica of the sacred seat of Manipallavam and a temple of Maṇimekhalā and celebrate the periodical festivities. Her temple, her cult and her festivities were held at Kanchi.

Mekhalā means 'the girdle, belt'. So does *kāñcī* 'a girdle (especially a woman's zone or girdle furnished with small bells and other ornaments)' MW. Kanchi is so-called because it is at the navel of the earth. *Kāñcī-māhātmya* 31.70 and *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* 11.6, 13.73 speak of Kanchi as the navel of the world:

ādhibhautikam amhoghnam nābhi-sthānam bhuvah param (*Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* 11.6)

jagat-kāma-kalākaram nābhi-sthānam bhuvah param (ibid. 13.73)

Śivajñāna munivar in his *Kāñcī-purāṇa* refers to Kanchi as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her garment and who shines as the Supreme *ākāśa*. Could Mekhalā have been the city goddess of Kanchi, just as Athena Nike was the goddess of the city of Athens? "The yoginīs Maṇibhadra, Mekhalā, Kanakhalā and Lakṣmīkarā were objects of devotion for five generations of King Kunji's descendants" (Robinson 1979:21). Can Kunji (var. Kuncī) be a variant of *Kāñcī*?

Maṇi in Maṇi-mekhalā refers to the overflowing riches of Kanchi where the Chinese used to come to trade in jewels and pearls as early as the second century B.C., as seen above. It is interesting to note that the word *maṇi-mekhalā* 'girdled with gems' occurs only in the *Ṛtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa, according to MW. Kālidāsa refers to Dinnāga who was an inhabitant of Kanchi. Legends connect him to Kanchi: could he have been associated with Kanchi? A point to investigate. As overseas trade enhanced the prosperity of Kanchi, it was a logical step that Mekhalā became Maṇi-mekhalā the deity of seafarers, the Goddess of the Seas in South East Asia. The memories of Kanchi in Kampuchea are ancient: *Kāñcīpura* is mentioned in the Tañ Krañ Inscription of Jayavarman I in the seventh century (Coedes 7.245). To our day, Maṇimekhalā, the Guardian Deity of the sea, has lived on in the life and daily practices of Kampuchea. She dazzles

Paraśurāma with her jewel. After their fight, Maṇimekhalā goes back to the sea. This is the tale from which a ballet has been drawn, and was performed at the court of Kampuchea. It was given at the festival held at Pnom-Penh on the opening of the Buddhist Institute in May 1930. Earlier, it had been performed in December 1929 to honour the Maharaja of Kapurthala on the occasion of his visit to the royal court of Kampuchea.

The Thai Rāmāyaṇa, composed anew in the reign of King Rama 1 (1783-1809), says that Maṇimekhalā is the goddess of the sea and lives in a palace studded with gems.

In the chronicles of Srilanka it is told how Vihāradevī, the mother of the Sinhalese national hero Duṭṭhagamini, was offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and how she was safely brought by the goddess Maṇimekhalā across the sea to Magama where she found her future husband (Levi 1937:389).

Thus Maṇimekhalā should have been the City Goddess of Kanchi, later she came to be the Goddess of the Seas in a era of flourishing trans-national commercial relations, and finally the heroine of the edifying Tamil classic that goes by her name, wherein the deity is her guardian angel.

Kanchi, the transmitter of Zen. The kingdom of Kanchi became a legend in East Asia, as her prince carried Dhyāna (Ch'an/Zen) Buddhism to China. Bodhidharma was the youngest son of the King of Kanchi (Hsiang-chih) and a follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line. Mist surrounds the evolution of the legend of Bodhidharma, which is as controversial as he himself must have been in life. The tradition is consistent in pointing out that he was a prince of Kanchi. His association with Tamil-speaking Kanchi is confirmed by the Japanese form of his name: Bodai-daruma, shortened to Daruma.

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra is one of the three basic scriptures of Zen:

1. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra
2. Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā
3. Hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara

The Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra was translated for the first time into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa between 412-433. It is lost. Three translations are extant:

A.D.	Translated by	Lost
412-433	Dharmarakṣa	K 159, Nj 175
443	Guṇabhadra of Central India	K 160, Nj 176
513	Bodhiruci of Northern India	K 161, Nj 177
704	Śikṣānanda of Khotan	

It must have been a widely prevalent text in the fifth century as we have two Chinese translations from this period. It continued in vogue in later centuries, as there are new translations from the sixth and eighth centuries. Bodhidharma's school took Guṇabhadra's translation as its scripture, as it was the only available version at the time of Bodhidharma. Laṅkāvatāra can refer to Kanchi. It is stated in the life of Hsüan-tsang by Hui-li (Beal 1911:139): "Kanchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days". Further, subtle nuances point to Kanchi as the native place of Bodhidharma and as the home of Zen.

The Hymn to Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is an essential part of the Zen repertoire of sūtras "what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours" (Suzuki 1950:11). Kanchi was a prominent seat of Śaivism, besides Buddhism and other denominations. The Chinese versions of the Nilakaṇṭhaka are posterior to Bodhidharma: the first Chinese version of Chih-t'ung (K 292, T 1057b, Nj 318) is dated to A.D. 624-649. The eminent role of the Nilakaṇṭha hymn in Zen points to a milieu dominated by Buddhism and Śaivism in equal measure. This meeting point could have been Kanchi.

Kanchi as the heartland of Vajrayāna. Kanchi is celebrated in the Sino-Japanese tradition as a centre of Vajrayāna. Vajrabodhi who introduced the yoga-tantra Tattva-saṅgraha to the East Asian tradition was the son of a brahmin proficient in the five disciplines and a teacher of the king of Kanchi. At the age of 31, he studied in South India for seven years under Nāgajñāna a disciple of Nāgārjuna and received abhiṣeka. He studied the Vairocana-sūtra, the Tattva-saṅgraha and various dhāraṇīs, according to Lü (Chou 1945:313). He reached Canton in A.D. 719 where an Imperial edict ordered him to be welcomed to the Tz'ü-ên Temple in Ch'ang-an. He had a great maṇḍala of Vajradhātu painted wherever he stayed. Wu kuei-fei, who alone among the queens enjoyed the special favours of the Chinese Emperor, presented treasures to Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi urged the queen to have a statue of Vajrāyusī made for long life. He was untiring in the propagation of Vajrayāna since his arrival at Canton and in the consecration of properly constructed maṇḍalas. In 723 Vajrabodhi, translated the japa-sūtra of the Tattva-saṅgraha tantra. In 732, he told his disciples at the Kuang-fu Temple in Lo-yang: "When the white moon becomes full, I shall go". Then he made obeisance to the image of Vairocana Buddha, walking around it seven times. Having withdrawn to his own quarters, he burned perfume and made vows. After he paid homage to the Sanskrit texts and confided the new translations on the doctrine to his disciples, he died

calmly. His secular age was seventy-one. The tradition of South Indian teachers visiting and working in China was continuous and in this train Vajrabodhi played a major role by introducing Vajrayāna to China, whence it was transmitted to Japan where it is a dominant sect to this day and it has contributed richly to Japanese culture in manifold ways. Vajrabodhi was responsible for the introduction of the Tattva-saṅgraha tantra. At that time it was the supreme development of tantric thought and practice with an intricate philosophical system. Vajrabodhi was given the highest esteem and his home was deeply venerated as the great seat of Vajrayāna. The great stūpa or Daitō of Koyasan is supposed to be modelled after the Iron Stūpa of South India. Koyasan is the headquarters of Vajrayāna in Japan and it indicates how deeply South India was venerated by the Japanese.

The biographies (Bagchi 1938:2.583) of Prājña of Kapiśā (worked in China A.D. 785-810) point out that he learned the speech of South India where they pursue the guhyapiṭaka or vidyādhara-piṭaka and practise strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South to study the yoga tantras, maṇḍala and mudrā of the Vajradhātu. Here South India should refer to Kanchi, for in the life of Hsüan-tsang (Nanking woodprint, chapter 4 folio 6b line 9) Draviḍa has the gloss *nan-yin* 'South India' in miniscule letters, and the capital of Draviḍa was Kāñcīpura. The biography of Prājña is a clear indication that South India was a renowned centre of Tantric philosophy, art, and ritual. Prājña studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port. This goes to show that South India in this context should refer to Kanchi, which is described by Hui-li as: "The town of *Kin-chi* is the opening (mouth) of the southern sea of India". Kanchi must have been frequented by rich Chinese merchants and it is from them that Prājña could acquire a knowledge of Chinese.

In China, Prājña taught Sanskrit to Kōbō Daishi, the founder of Shingon or Vajrayāna in Japan. He gave Sanskrit manuscripts to Kōbō Daishi: "With the pledge to transmit the torch of the Dharma, I came to China. I wish to sail for Japan, but circumstances do not allow me to fulfil my intention. Take with you the new Avataṃsaka-sūtra and the Śaṭpāramitā-sūtra, both of which I have translated, and these Sanskrit manuscripts. I sincerely hope that these will help create conditions [in which to propagate Buddhism] so that people will be saved" (Hakeda 1972:149). In the years 796-798 Prājña had translated anew the Avataṃsaka-sūtra in 40 fasciculi. It is important to note that at the end there is a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor from the King of Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) in South India, who presented his own copy of the Sanskrit text to the Chinese

Emperor in A.D. 795 (Nj 89). Here Wu-ch'a (Uḍa) is explicitly stated to be situated in South India, and it can be none other than Uḍḍiyāna/Kanchi.

From Kanchi to Indonesia. The greatest of Vajrayāna monuments is the Barabudur in Indonesia. Java was a meeting point of Vajrayāna from diverse lands. Amoghavajra from Samarkand had accompanied his uncle on a trade visit to Java. There he met Vajrabodhi of Kanchi in 718 and became his disciple. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in 719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in 720. Both of them were instrumental in translating the Tattva-saṅgraha and other fundamental scriptures of Vajrayāna into Chinese. In fact, along with their contemporary Śubhākarasimha, they laid the foundations of Vajrayāna in East Asia whose visual dharma were the twin maṇḍalas preserved to this day in Japan. The presence of these two great teachers on the island of Java in person, is a unique historic evidence of the emerging world of Vajrayāna, converging to a unity in a shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, the remnants of whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart.

In a detailed article (1979) I have identified the Barabudur as the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, the Chandi Mendut as the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala and Pawon as the homa-temple to Acala. These three elements have parallels in Japanese Vajrayāna. The close resemblance seems to be due their common origin from Kanchi. As pointed out earlier, Vajrabodhi the great founder of East Asian Vajrayāna was the son of the Royal Preceptor of Kanchi. As we shall now see, there were close relations between Tamil and Śailendra Buddhism.

The legend of an Alvar saint throws welcome light on the presence of Tamil sthapatis in Indonesia. The Vaiṣṇava saint Alvar Tiru-mangai wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Srirangam. "He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapattinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nāgapattinam was very useful. It was to this effect: "The sthapati who made this golden image and the vimāna under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara". This statement was enough to send Tiru-mangai to Dvīpāntara or Indonesia where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect, and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the vimāna, which enabled the Alvar to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word *pattinam* itself denotes a settlement of sambaras, i.e. those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests flourishing communications between India and Indonesia in the eighth century.

The sthapati referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Barabudur. Even if there was some other sthapati, he could have hailed from South India. The sthapati were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted on a statue of solid gold for such a magnificent monument as the Barabudur, when there was a precedent in the main image of the vihāra at Nāgapattinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the ninth century. Significantly enough it bears a stylistic affinity with South Indian sculpture (Fontein 1971:148 no.27).

Bara-budur is a Tamil word. The first element of the name Bara-budur goes back to an ancient spoken form, as in the name of Bokhara 'the city of v(i)hāras'. In the earliest Western document of 1221 the name Bokhara occurs as *Bachara* (Pelliot 1959:1.108). The lost colloquial Indic form *vahāra* developed into *bahār* and *bokhar*, *a* being pronounced as *o*. Pelliot's discussion about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic form *vahāra*, which is enhanced by the Newari term *vahal* for the Buddhist temples of Vajrayāna in Nepal. The Indonesian *bara*, pronounced in Modern Javanese as *boro*, can be traced back to *bahara/ba'ara* (by the elision of *h*) < *bāra* (coalescence of the two *a*) < *bāra* (influenced by *vara* 'excellent, supreme'). In modern Tamil, *h* is a glide for hiatus, *Mura-hari* for *Mura-ari*/Murāri. Conversely the *h* in *bahara* was considered an epenthetic and dropped. This gave the form *bara*, and the long vowel (*ba*) was lost in the popular pronunciation of Java which has no long vowels.

The second element of the name, Budur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay *budua*, or Skt. *Buddha*. Moens (1951:333) has rightly come to the conclusion that *-ur* is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil *putu/budu* means 'new', and *putūr* refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called *Budoor* (PTG. 1954:125a) in the Chingleput district in South India, and eight towns with the name *Pudur* (PTG. 1954:566) and *Pudur-Palayam*, *Pudur-Ramnad*, *Pudur-Uthamanur*, not to mention about a hundred city names with *Pudu-*. Thus the word Budur is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budur means the New Monastery or Nava-vihāra like its well-known counterpart Nav Bahar at Balkh, of the contemporary period. Several monasteries in Eastern Iran were called Nav Bahar.

Tamil phonetics and words in Indonesia. There are a number of traces in the Śailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sewu a fragmentary inscription bears the words: *tiruraṇu*

(Casparis 1950:115). Casparis considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil *tiru* is *śrī* and *raṇu* corresponds to Tamil *rāṇuvam* 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samara-tuṅga, who reigned 812-832 (Casparis 1950: 201). It could have been his pet family name (*tiru* = *śrī*, *rāṇuva* = *samara*).

The Inscription of Śrī Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764 = A.D. 842, which is correlated to the Barabudur by Casparis, begins with the date and the day is *canaiścaraṇawara* (Casparis 1950:86), instead of *śa°*. *Ca* in place of *śa* is a common phenomenon in Tamil, where *śani* is *cani*.

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4

simā niṇ kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra

II lines 2, 3

simā niṇ kamūlān [i bhūmi] sambhara

Casparis has rightly come to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the Barabudur complex, on the analysis of the village names occurring in the inscription. But his interpretation of the word *kamūlān* has to be viewed in a new light. *Kamūlān* is a homonymic counterpart of *mūla-sthāna* where *ka-* ...-an denote *sthāna*. In Tamil this word occurs as *mula-t-tānam* (from *mūla-sthāna*) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple' (Tamil Lexicon). *Tirumūlattānam* (*tiru* = *śrī* + *mūlasthāna*) refers to the sacred shrine of Tiruvārūr (Tamil Lexicon p. 1913). The renowned North Indian geographic name Multan, which is derived from Sanskrit *Mūlasthāna*, also means '[The City of the] Temple'. In Srilanka too, *mūla* = *ārāma* (Encyclopaedia of Buddhism 3.22, 24). *Kamūlān* refers only to the sacred complex and has nothing to do with the origins of the Śailendra dynasty.

The compound *bhūmi sambhara* is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu (Fontein 1971:149 no.30) in Brebes, Central Jāva, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies -- *sambhāra* and *sambhara*. In Tamil *sambara* refers to the Buddhist community. *Sambara* is *saṃvara* meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from *sambara* to *sambhara* was an orthographic variation where *bh* lent the word dignity of hyper-sanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term *sambhāra* (punya-sambhāra, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha 117). Thus *bhūmi sambhara* meant the land of the sambhara i.e. Indian Buddhists. The whole expression *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara* means 'a monastic foundation of Indian Buddhists.' It is pertinent to cite the

lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Barabudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region (*dakṣiṇā-pathasya parvatasthale*). Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Barabudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976:11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Barabudur?" We feel that it does. Dakṣiṇāpatha in Sanskrit is South India: the same as *bhūmi sambhara*; *parvatasthala* refers to the Barabudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Barabudur is in the village Bumi-segoro (Skt. *sāgara-bhūmi*) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e. India. In stanza 8 of the Kalasan Inscription of Śaka 700 (Sarkar 1972:1.36, Casparis 1950:186) the Śailendras do term themselves *āryasantati*. As late as the 11th century, Śailendras had intimate relations with South India : they founded a vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭinam, to which the Chola King granted the income of a village for support (Fontein 1971:33). We are led to the conclusion that Mendut-Pawon-Barabudur was modelled after the Indic tradition.

Kanchi in Indonesian chronicle and county. The Old Javanese chronicle Nāgarakṛtāgama composed in 1365 refers to Kanchi thrice. It speaks of the Buddhist monk Buddhāditya of Śaḍvihāra in Kanchi and of the Brahmin Mutali Sahṛdaya who came to the Javanese court of Hayam Wuruk. The former composed a panegyric (*bhogāvali*) in Sanskrit ślokas, while Mutali (= Mudaliyar) paid praise in ślokas:

*Sakveḥ saṁ paṇḍitaṁ anyadharaṇi maṇikēṭ kāstavan śrī narendrā/
śrī buddhāditya saṁ bhikṣu agavay i sira bhogāvali śloka kīrṇṇa/
riṁ jambudvīpa tōṅvānira maṇaran i kañcipurī śaḍvihāra/
mvaṁ saṁ viprāṇaran śrī mutali saḥṛdayāvat stuti śloka śuddha// 93.1*

Honoured scholars in other countries compose verses in praise of the Illustrious Prince. The illustrious Buddhāditya the bhikṣu has composed a panegyric of Sanskrit ślokas with great variety.

In India is his place, named Kāñcipurī, at the Śaḍvihāra.

And the honoured brahmin named Mutali Sahṛdaya brings pure praise in Sanskrit ślokas.

The Indonesian kāvya Kuñjarakarma Dharmakathana by Mpu Ḍusun is dated to the later Majapahit period, that is to the 14-15th centuries. Its reference to the pentads of Saugata, Pāsupata and Śaiva sects (23.1d-3) reminds of the Kapālin, Buddhist monk and Pāsupata in the Mattavilāsa of the Pallava king Mahendra-vikrama-varman (580-680). Could this go back to Kanchi?

Kanchi is mentioned in an inscription from Jiju, which is to be dated in the last quarter of the 15th century A.D. (OJO.p.224). It refers to *saṁ hyaṁ dharma riṁ kāñcī*, that

is, a religious foundation at Kanchi, but the drift of the passage indicates it to be a place located somewhere in the subdivision of Mojokerto. Thus Kanchi lent its glorious name to a place in Central Java.

Kanchi: A cradle of Tibetan Tantras. In Tibetan Buddhism, Oḍḍiyāna is the heartland of Vajrayāna. It was the centre where the Tantras were revealed. Oḍḍiyāna played a pivotal role in the development, redaction and dissemination of the Tantras. According to Bu-ston it was at Oḍḍiyāna that Vajrapāṇi collected "endless revelations of Vajrayāna", and gave them to Indrabhūti. Guhyasamāja, the culmination of Tantric thought, was also revealed to Indrabhūti in Oḍḍiyāna. The Tattva-prabhāsa-karaṇḍa-dīpa (Toh.2643) and Jñāna-tilaka-yoginī-tantra-rāja (Toh.422) of the Guhyasamāja tradition point out that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, and it was he who knew and could explain the Guhyasamāja. The Guhyasamāja was commented upon by Candrakīrti who was a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kanchi and whom the texts call *Kāñcīnara* (Tucci 1949:1.214). The explicit reference to Kanchi holds the key to the identification of Oḍḍiyāna. It is significant that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, who was the presiding deity of Maṅgakoṣṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāna, or modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanchi.

In a Nepalese manuscript of the ninth century, Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna is illustrated on folio 89 recto: *Oḍḍiyāne Maṅgakoṣṭha-Vajrapāṇi* (Foucher 1900:121, Naudou 1968:36). Maṅgakoṣṭha is an earlier name of Ekāmreśvara temple at Kanchi: Tamil *maṅkay*=*man* 'mango-tree' + *kay* 'fruit', heard and recorded by the Portuguese as *manga*>English *mango*. The ancient name of the site must have been intentionally changed to the present Ekāmreśvara to signal its new religious associations. The word Maṅgakoṣṭha may also conceal a double entendre to an emanation of goddess Tārā, for Tamil *maṅkai* means 'a girl between 12 and 13 years', Malayalam *maṅka* 'a young, playful woman'. Tārā was the presiding deity (*pīṭhīśvarī*) of holy Oḍḍiyāna, and today her apotheosis is significantly Kāmākṣī 'one of amorous eyes'. The iconographic xylograph Rin-lhan, illustrates the *O-rgyan sgrol-ma gnas-kyi-dbañ-phyug-ma* = *Pīṭhīśvarī Oḍḍiyāna Tārā* on folio 45b. Kanchi consists of Kāma-kōṭṭam (Kālī-kōṭṭam), Rudra-kōṭṭam, Puṇya-kōṭṭam and Kumāra-kōṭṭam which are sacred severally for Parāśakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kumāra. The word *koṣṭha* = *kōṭṭa*, and it goes to strengthen the placement of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Kanchi. In March 1986 I visited Ekāmreśvara and saw nine Buddhist sculptures in the enclosing wall: remnants of thousands that have perished or have been obliterated. Vajrapāṇi is a name of Indra and Kanchi is celebrated for its Indra festival

in Tamil classics. Nowadays, young boys and girls pray to Ekāmreśvara for life-spouses by offering miniature beds at the shrine. Since its heyday as the centre of Vajrayāna, Maṅgakoṣṭha (now Ekāmreśvara) must have been associated with arcane rites, and hence the place where the Guhyasamāja was revealed.

In an earlier paper entitled "A New Interpretation of Oḍḍiyāna" I have dealt at length with the identification of Oḍḍiyāna with Kanchi. We have to distinguish three places and three words:

Udyāna = Swat (in the Northwest of India)

Oḍḍiśa = Orissa

Oḍḍiyāna = Kanchi

Sometimes they may have been confused but they are reasonably distinguished and demand a detailed re-appraisal.

Several Tamil expressions occur in the dhāraṇīs. It is borne out by the Karuṇā-puṇḍarika-sūtra 39:1, 3 which speaks of *Dramiḍa-mantra-pada* and by the Sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī: 16.1 *iyam Draviḍa-mantra-padā sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī*.

The syllabification dot or *tsheg* in Tibetan is unique in the family of Indic scripts. Only Tamil and Thai scripts have a dot for devocalisation on top of the consonant. I would not be surprised if the Tibetan *tsheg* is derived from the Tamil script. The Tibetan script was created by Thon-mi Sambhoṭa, a minister under King Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po in the seventh century. It is his most outstanding contribution to Tibetan culture which is commemorated in special dramas performed till today. His other historic exploit is that he defeated the Chinese in 670. Sambhoṭa had come to study at Nalanda and he could have got the inspiration for the *tsheg* under a Tamil guru. This possibility cannot be ruled out when Hsüan-tsang mentions (Watters 1905:2.165) some great bodhisattvas who served Buddhism at Nalanda by their outstanding commentaries, like Guṇamati, Dharmapāla, Candrapāla and Śīlabhadra. While Guṇamati died much earlier, Dharmapāla passed away about 600. Dharmapāla's disciple Śīlabhadra was Abbot of Nalanda when Hsüan-tsang was there in the two years: about A.D. 637 and 642. He became a friend and teacher of the pilgrim. Hsüan-tsang was at Kanchi in 640, perhaps induced by his teacher Śīlabhadra, who might have hailed from Kanchi. Thus Tamils were honoured teachers at Nalanda and Sambhoṭa could have been in touch with them. The date of the devocalisation dot in Tamil script and several other facets have to be considered. The entire question merits a detailed study.

The Guhyasamāja was preached by Munīndra himself to Indrabhūti the king of Oḍḍiyāna. A yoginī heard it from Indrabhūti and taught it to king Viśukalpa of the

Southern country. The mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha heard it from him and taught it to ācārya Nāgārjuna (Blue Annals 1.359). Indrabhūti should have been a rich landlord of the Buddhist quarter of Kanchi or Oḍḍiyāna, with the title of a rājā or king. King Viśukalpa, Saraha and tantric Nāgārjuna were also in Kanchi. Saraha wrote five sādhanas of Trailokya-vaśaṁkara Lokeśvara of Oḍḍiyāna (Tanjur 70.25, 26, 71.66, 122, 123). The *alias* of Saraha(pāda) is Rāhula(bhadra) (Taranatha 1970:382 n.8). Āryadeva entrusted the responsibility of the dharma to Rāhulabhadra in Raṅganatha near Kanchi (Taranatha 1970:126). The connection of Saraha with Kanchi is on positive grounds.

Kṣatriya Rāhulabhadra, disciple of Buddhajñāna-pāda, attained the vision of Vajradhātu Vairocana (Pañcakula Tathāgata) and went to the Draviḍa country. "There he delivered many sermons on the Guhyatantra. He obtained wealth from the Nāgas and from this he used to pay everyday a golden dīnāra as the daily wage to each of the five hundred workers employed in the construction of a temple. Thus he built a big temple of Guhyasamāja" (Taranatha 1970:280). This passage points to the Draviḍa land as the centre of Guhyasamāja, and to the presence of rich foreign (nāga) merchants from beyond the seas.

The importance of Kanchi, where were born great Buddhist masters like logician Dinnāga, was evident to Taranatha (181) as he gives a list of the rulers of Kanchi (11) in the introductory chapter of his history of Buddhism in India.

Kanchi was a cradle of several manifestations of Buddhism. Buddhaghosa wrote the Pali commentaries while residing at Kanchi. Several Theravāda monks wrote at Kanchi or headed the viḥāras till the 13th century. Two of the greatest Tamil classics are Buddhist. Chapada went to Pagan (Burma) during the reign of king Anawratha (10th cent.), and took along with him two Theras who were residents of Kanchi. Of them Ānanda headed the Burmese Saṅgha for 50 years and died in A.D. 1245. From the heights of Dhyāna Buddhism to the depths of Vajrayāna all were cradled in the brilliant traditions of learning at Kanchi, enriched by her continuing affluence because of international trade. The toponyms Mekhalā/Kanchi/Oḍḍiyānam celebrate the rapture of the jewelled girdle in the arcane lore of the Guhyasamāja, while the fantasies of her guardian goddess (Maṇi)Mekhalā lie trampled in the silence of time.

23. JALALABAD: THE FINAL REPOSE OF BADSHAH KHAN

China
The frontier regions have sunk their roots into the mind of Fakhr-e-Afghan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whom we have lovingly known as Frontier Gandhi and will longingly cherish his memory as such. His life has been a pilgrimage of suffering and painful ordeal, "and yet soft with the gentleness of one who loves his kind exceedingly" (Jawaharlal Nehru). As Panditji pointed at, a mental barrier was deliberately built up in the Northwest Frontier by foreign rulers, and it bred ill-will all around. This was shaken by the remarkable Badshah Khan who awakened the slumbering masses to a new and common destiny with the whole of the country. This borderland, this distant Frontier of the Subcontinent, where once the cultures of Greece, Iran, China and India had met, had always been an area of cultural camaraderie. In his very last breaths, Badshah Khan strove to bring India, Pakistan and Afghanistan together in sharing roots, to open the doors of history to lay the foundations of a future where life is stronger than precepts, where the sanguine is replaced by singing hearts. The heart of Badshah Khan is set in the earth's breast, whence all that grows nourishes man. The Badshah Khan is that shining love that ripens in the mind and in the blood of humankind which seeks a world of amity and compassion, a flowering of human values.

The Badshah Khan had willed that his final resting place be Jalalabad. Jalalabad has been the heartbeat of the Subcontinent, a city and state that had heard the silent footsteps of an overwhelming vision of India. Jalalabad was so named by the Moghul Emperor of Delhi Jalaluddin Ahmad Akbar after his own name in 1570. In its policy to revive historical names of places, the Afghan Government has presently designated it Ningarahara or Nungnihara. In the Buddhist period it was known as Nagarahāra after the central Buddhist monastery in the town. The Jalalabad province is rich in Buddhist caves, stupas, monasteries, sculptures and other antiquities. It is renowned in ancient literatures and epigraphs of India and China. It has yielded three Aśokan inscriptions, and an epigraph referring to Menander. The icons and paintings discovered here are exquisite pieces of Gandhara art.

In ancient times, the Jalalabad region was also known as Udyāna, a veritable garden, where merchants and mendicants, pilgrims and potentates rubbed shoulders both for trade and faith. The historians of Alexander called it Nysa. The memoirs of Babar write the name as Nangenhara. Ptolemy mentions it as Nagara or Dionysopolis. It was the capital of a Greek kingdom which exhibited the symbol of Dionysos on its coins. The

Greek name continued down to the times of Mahmud of Ghazni, for Alberuni mentions it as Dinus. The name Nagarahāra has been confirmed by an inscription found at Guserawa in Bihar. Udyāna is known for its blankets in the Buddhist Jātakas. In the 4-5th century A.D. Udyāna attained two identities: Udyāna and Nagarahāra. Chinese pilgrim-scholars visited this region to pay homage to the sacred relics of the Buddha. Fa-hsien (399-414) came to worship the Tooth Relic of the Buddha enshrined at Nagarahāra. In 578 Sung-yun visited the monasteries here. Hsüan-tsang came to Nagarahāra, surrounded by overhanging precipices and natural barriers, rich in flowers and fruits. Hsüan-tsang says of its inhabitants: "Their manners are simple and honest, their disposition ardent and courageous". Here was a 300 feet high stupa built by Emperor Aśoka. This Prince of Chinese Pilgrims mentions several other stupas and of one he says: "Being no work of man's art, it is clearly a spiritual prodigy". Near Jalalabad was the Cavern of the Shadow. Here the Buddha left his Shadow "bright as the true form, with all its characteristic marks", for the nāga Gopāla and said: "If an evil heart rises in you, you must look at my shadow, and because of its power of love and virtue your evil purpose will be stopped". Reading the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang one can only exclaim: what a befitting place for the Badshah Khan to find his final repose. The eminence of classical Nagarahāra was because a number of sacred relics were enshrined in and around the town. Excavations by Prof. Mizuno during the last ten years have shed new light on the vast monastic complexes which were great centres of learning. The Indo-Greek King Menander ruled Jalalabad in the second century B.C. His discussions with the Theravāda monk Nāgasena have been preserved in the Milinda-pañha.

The shadow in the Nāga King's cave was one of the main attractions of Nagarahāra which was frequented by the Chinese. Between 398 and 421 Buddhahadra translated into Chinese the "Sutra on the Sea of Mystic Ecstasy Attained by Visualising the Buddha". Special emphasis has been given herein to the "Shadow Cavern" which indicates that the original Sanskrit was composed around the middle of the fourth century at Nagarahāra, an area that had once been Hellenistic, then the centre of the polyglot Kushan empire and finally had fallen into the hands of Sassanian Persia. Thus the sutra is full of strange ideas imported from further west. The shadow image enjoyed a sanctity much greater than any other image. The great Chinese abbot Hui-yuan had a careful replica constructed for his monastery on Mount Lu framed by peaks and waterfalls, clear springs that wound past the steps and dense adjacent woods for meditation. The painting of the shadow was done in pale pigments: "the colours one might have taken for layers

of air; seen from a distance they were like a mist". The panegyric composed by Abbot Hui-yuan runs:

A radiance comes and goes among high-piled peaks;

A brightness is fixed within the empty shelter.

It lies in the shadows and is not obscured;

Placed in darkness, it is all the more luminous....

How true are these words of the Chinese master as applied to Badshah Khan. How luminous is he, as he chooses the final stillness in historic and sacred Jalalabad, which has yielded edicts of Aśoka in the Aramaic language, a language that Christ was to speak three centuries later. The minds of the Buddha, Aśoka, Greek kings and Chinese pilgrims speak anew their unaging message in the person of Badshah Khan. Wind's ancient songs seek the mind that is far away in the future, in the mind of Badshah Khan, whose strength is still majestic. Viewed afar, he gleams like the sun rising from dawn mists, dispelling the darkness of human misunderstanding. His epic halo summons us to share every fragment of life in a fragrant heritage of love, where laurels and roots are interwoven.

24. KASHMIR AND CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FIRST MILLENIUM

Kashmir has been celebrated throughout Asia as the vale of wisdom, adorned by galaxies of scholars, and a land that humbles even Indra's domain:

अस्ति स्वस्तिमतामग्रं मण्डितं बुधमण्डलैः ।
खण्डिताखण्डलावासदर्पं कश्मीरमण्डलम् ॥

Eminent poets blessed by the grace of Sarasvatī made Kashmir the envy of the Sanskritic world. The light of Buddhism and its artistic glories, meditational enlightenment and enchanting murals of the cloisters of Kashmir inspired artists to illumine monastic interiors in the sands of Central Asia, in the snows of Tibet and in the sprawling monasteries of China. To paint was to evoke. In the eleventh century (to be precise, in A.D. 1052) Somendra the son of the polymath Kṣemendra, bemoaned the fading glories of Buddhist convents: "Gone are the monasteries in the flow of time whose cloisters were painted with charming murals of Buddhist *ayadānas* in golden hues and which held the eyes in rapture". These murals found a new life in Tibet.

As the prime land of Buddhism, it was natural that Kashmir play a pivotal role in its dissemination to Central Asia. Hsüan-tsang relates that Arhat Vairocana from Kashmir first preached Buddhism in Khotan and established a Buddhist monastery there. The Tibetan Annals of Khotan too confirm it. The local traditions prevalent in the early part of this century and archaeological evidence suggests special relationship of Khotan with Kashmir in Buddhism and other importations from India (Stein 164). When Vairocana was practising meditation, the King of Khotan came to see him, being informed of his strange appearance and dress. The Arhat exhorted him to follow the Dharma. The King offered to believe in Buddha if he could see him. Sung-yün says that Vairocana inspired the King to build a stupa of the 'turned-up bowl' shape to gain blessings. This simile of the upturned bowl survived till late in Iranian literature: "the inverted bowl they call the sky" in Omar Khayyam. The Tibetan Annals of Li-yul (=Khotan) point out that Vairocana invited the Nāga king Hu-lor to bring from Kashmir a *caitya* which contained the relics of the Seven *Tathāgatas*.

The 'Records' and 'Life' of Hsüan-tsang record an ancient tradition that an Arhat of Kashmir fell dangerously ill and asked for a peculiar cake of rice. His saintly teacher obtained this for him from Khotan, whereupon the *śramaṇera*, who much relished the dish, prayed to be reborn in that country. Having obtained his wish and become king of

Khotan in his new birth, he crossed the snowy mountains and attacked Kashmir. Before retiring to Khotan the king presented himself before the Buddha statue to which he had paid worship in his former birth, and took it homewards with his army. When the statue arrived at P'o-ch'ieh-i it refused to be moved further. Thereupon the king constructed a convent around the statue and placed upon its head his own diadem adorned with precious stones. This legend is of interest in several respects. It proves that Kashmir was credited with having supplied to Khotan statuary of ancient date, a fact throwing light on one of the channels through which Khotan art derived its unmistakable connection with the art of Gandhara (Stein 118)

The legend of the foundation of Khotan has been preserved in the Tibetan Annals. It opens characteristically with the Buddhist adaptation of a legend popular in Kashmir. Khotan was converted into a lake by its Nāgas because of ill-treatment to Ṛṣis by the people. When Buddha visited Khotan he predicted that after his nirvāṇa the lake would dry up and become a country. It has a parallel in the draining of the lakes believed to have once occupied the present valleys of Kashmir as told in the Nīlamata Purāṇa. There are other correspondences between the legendary lore of Kashmir and Khotan. Anthropological affinities between the people of Khotan and Kashmiris have been pointed out by Stein (165).

The queen of king Vijayasāṅgrāma of Khotan came from Kashmir (Stein 582).

Scholars of Kashmir travelled to the farthest limits of Central Asia, namely, to Tun-huang. In A.D. 284 Dharmarakṣa was staying at Tun-huang. Dharmarakṣa has the honour of contributing more than anyone else to the conversion of China to Buddhism. During his sojourn at Tun-huang he got a copy of the Yogācāra-bhūmi from a layman of Kashmir whose name is given in Chinese translation as Cheng-jo (Zürcher 66). Dharmarakṣa translated this work into Chinese in collaboration with his Indian guest. In A.D. 300 a monk from Kashmir brought a manuscript of the Bhadrakalpāvadāna to Dharmarakṣa who belonged to a Yüeh-chih family of Central Asia (Zürcher 67).

The years A.D. 380-385 were characterised by the translation of several important scriptures into Chinese. Some scholars came from Kashmir, a stronghold of Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. Others came from the Buddhist kingdoms of Central Asia, like Dharmanandin from Tukhara and Kumārabodhi from Turfan. The Kashmiri and Central Asian masters worked together under Chu Fo-nien who was well-versed in Sanskrit and in several Central Asian languages (Zürcher 202).

The Biography of Shih Hui-yüan (334-416) states: "Later there was Saṅghadeva, monk from Kashmir, who possessed an extensive knowledge of the scriptures. When in

the sixteenth year of the T'ai-yüan era (391 A.D.) he arrived at Hsün-yang." Hui-yüan asked him to make a second translation of the "Heart of the Abhidharma" and of the *San fa-tu lun* (Zürcher 246).

On 27 May 412 A.D. Buddhahadra the dhyāna-master from Kashmir performed the solemn inauguration of a chapel in which a painting of the "shadow" of Lord Buddha was consecrated. He gave a detailed description of this painting as it was in the mountain cave at Nagarahāra (modern Jelalabad). Hui-yüan wrote the eulogy on the Buddha shadow. It was seen by Fa-hsien in A.D. 399, by Sung-yün in A.D. 520, and by Hsüan-tsang in A.D. 630. The Buddha after having converted the *nāga-king* Gopāla left at the latter's request his "shadow" (a reflection of his whole body) on the wall. All descriptions emphasize the remarkable phenomenon that the image was clearly distinct if seen from some distance, fading away and eventually disappearing when one approached the wall (Zürcher 224).

Kumārajīva was born in Kucha of a Brahman father and a Kuchean princess. The Kucheans were an Italo-Celtic people whose Kuchean language had words like *nyū* for new, *oxo* for ox. Kumārajīva followed his mother into the Buddhist saṅgha, at the tender age of seven. They travelled together to Kashmir to study Buddhist texts under one of the most famous masters of the Buddhist world, Bandhudatta. After three years in Kashmir, mother and son went to Kashgar to study the Vedas, astronomy and mathematics. At Kashgar, Kumārajīva studied Mahāyāna sūtras and became a Mahayanist. After an year at Kashgar, Kumārajīva returned to his native kingdom. He invited Bandhudatta to Kucha from Kashmir and succeeded in converting him to Mahāyāna. In 401 Yao Hsing despatched armies to Liang-chou to bring Kumārajīva to his capital Ch'ang-an. Under his patronage Kumārajīva carried on translation activities in the Hsiao-yao Gardens with a thousand monks in daily sessions. Some of the greatest classics of Chinese Buddhism are the translations of Kumārajīva. Yao Hsing felt that Kumārajīva's extraordinary brilliance and understanding should be transmitted to offspring, so he assigned ten girls to live with Kumārajīva and installed them in separate quarters. Kumārajīva complied with the ruler's wishes, but he realized his own shortcomings, for it is recorded that when he preached he warned his audience to take only the lotus that grew out of the mud and to leave the mud alone (Chen 83).

There was an old tradition about Lao-tzu's activities in India, localised at the Court of Kashmir, as recorded in the *Hsiao tao lun* (A.D. 570, Zürcher 299, 302). Whatever the veracity of this tradition, it goes to show that Kashmir occupied a prominent place in the cultural life of China.

Hsüan-tsang (602-664) halted at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir. He dined at the palace, to meet the great Buddhist philosopher Saṅghayaśas, who was getting on for seventy. In spite of his poor health, the philosopher arranged a strenuous program for Hsüan-tsang. In the morning he lectured on Abhidharma-kośa, in the afternoon on nyāya and in the evening on grammar and logic. The introduction of Indian logic into China was Hsüan-tsang's most important achievement. The evening lessons in Kashmir, extending over two years, had become a new starting-point in Chinese thought.

The T'ang Annals furnish geographical data on Kashmir which they transliterate as Ku-shih-mi (Stein 6).

In A.D. 693, Cintāmaṇi (Chin. Pao-ssu-wei) of the kṣatriya caste from Kashmir arrived at Loyang where he died in A.D. 721 at the age of more than a hundred years. He founded a monastery on the Lung-men Mountain and translated nine Sanskrit works into Chinese (Hobogirin 148).

The Chinese considered it vital to retain hold over 'Little P'o-lu' to keep the route to Kashmir absolutely safe and open for food convoys. The T'ang Annals have preserved a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor by Muktāpīḍa (Chin. Mu-to-pi) on his accession to the Kashmir throne in A.D. 733 (Stein 13).

The complete defeat of Kao Hsien-chih by the Arabs in A.D. 751 led to the rapid decline of the Chinese Imperial power in the 'Western kingdoms' of NW. India. It also forced them to abandon active relations with Gilgit, Kashmir, Kabul and Udyāna (Chavannes 295).

In A.D. 759 the Chinese pilgrim Wu-k'ung visited Kashmir from Gandhara (present Peshawar district) and stayed there till A.D. 763. Wu-k'ung correctly described Kashmir as enclosed on all sides by mountains and three roads opening through them secured by gates or watch-stations.

In 781 Prājña arrived in Canton, and worked in Ch'ang-an till 785. He was born in Kashmir in A.D. 744. In 790-92 he visited Central Asia. On return he resided at Loyang till his death in A.D. 810 (Hobogirin 253). In 806 he taught Sanskrit, Indian Buddhism and Nagari calligraphy to Kobo Daishi the greatest personality in the cultural history of Japan. Kobo Daishi created the Japanese syllabary (alphabet) and democratised education by bringing it to all persons irrespective of their birth or rank. The Tripiṭaka Master Prājña had told Kobo Daishi on the eve of his return home: "I was born in Kashmir and was initiated into Buddhism while still young and went on a pilgrimage all over India. With the pledge to transmit the torch of the Dharma, I came to China. I wish to sail for Japan, but circumstances do not allow me to fulfill my intention. Take with

you the new Avataṃsaka Sūtra and the Ṣaṭ-Pāramitā Sūtra, both of which I have translated, and these Sanskrit manuscripts. I sincerely hope that these will help create conditions in which to propagate Buddhism so that people will be saved" (Hakeda 149, Kobo Daishi's Memorial to the Japanese Emperor dated A.D. 806).

In A.D. 982, Devaśānti (Chin. T'ien-si-toai) of Kashmir arrived in China with Dānapāla. Till his death in A.D. 1000 he translated 17 Sanskrit works into Chinese, including Tantric texts (Hobogirin 283).

In the 13th century, the Ilkhanid Mongols in Iran, were in close touch with Kashmir. They invited Buddhist monks from Kashmir before the conversion of King Ghazan to Islam in A.D. 1295 and the consequent destruction of Buddhist viḥāras in Iran. Pangs of memories brood over the loss of Mongol identity as recorded by Rashid al-Din (1247-1318) who was commissioned by King Ghazan: "After a year had passed, he once summoned me and said: "Thanks to God, we have become Muslim. Two or three generations have already passed since the arrival of my uncle Hulegu from Mongolia. The Mongols, who will be born after us, will have forgotten the language, the words, the soil, the regions, and will not even remember their ancestors. Many tribes are living in Mongolia and some are of Mongol stock, while others are not. All of that you shall learn and describe". I replied, when he gave me this order: "An individual may accomplish a duty, but you are charging me with a great task". The Khan said: "Nobody can accomplish this work, but you. We possess books which are written in the Mongol language. There are people, who remember the events which have not been described". Hence, I received the assistance of six Mongols, who were familiar with the ancient Mongol language" (Zamcarano 2). The Buddhist monk Kamalaśrī was at the Mongol court in Iran and he supplied a detailed account of Buddhism to Rashid al-Din for his World History Jami al-Tawarikh. The Fatih albums at Istanbul and Berlin have a direct connection with Buddhist scroll-paintings from China. The manuscript of the World History of Rashid al-Din contains illustrations of Buddhist themes (Gray 34).

Mongols speak of Kashmiri beauty to this day. During my visit to Ulanbator in 1957, Madame Indri the wife of the-then Deputy Prime Minister narrated how the Mongols speak of her son: "He is as handsome as an Indian", evidently reminiscing of the 13th century when bakshis or bhikṣus from Kashmir manned the Imperial Mongol court and monasteries in Iran and elsewhere.

25. MAHABHARATA IN ASIAN LITERATURES AND ARTS

Mahabharata, the epic of poetic flight, with words of imperative sway, has evoked the subtlety and richness of the soul of Asia. It has been the meaning hidden in minds, whether of India or of other climes enriched with her spirit. Centuries have listened to the constant drone, the gabbling, stumbling and scrambling in the repetition of the holy words of the Bhārata in the shrines and sanctuaries, temples and palaces of South East Asia. It has been a living existence. The Bhārata was a living organism, wherein voices, horizons, piety and illumination mingled.

Mahabharata in Kampuchean inscriptions. As early as the sixth century, the Veal Kantal Inscription (K 359) relates that Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman offered to Lord Tribhuvanēśvara a complete copy of the Bhārata and arranged its unbroken daily recitation (*aśeṣaṃ bhārataṃ dadat/ akṛt-ānvaham acchedyaṃ sa ca tad-vācanā-sthitim//*). Another inscription of Prasat Prah That (K 109) of the mid-seventh century says that the Sambhav-ādhāya of the Ādiparva was donated by Bhavajñāna to a temple (Sarkar 1968:29). Imprecations are invoked against one who destroys this manuscript deposited in the temple. The Prasat Kandol Dom Inscription (K 809) of the ninth century says that Śivasoma the royal preceptor of King Indravarman (A.D. 877-889) was an expert in the Bhārata and other treatises, as if he had authored them (Sarkar 1968:35). The Stele of the foundation of Pre Rup dated Śaka 883, speaks of the installation of Bhārata-saṃhitā (Coedès 1937:2.102). The Stele of Prasat Trapan Run (K 598), dated Śaka 928, informs us that the teaching of the full Bhārata was in vogue. The Prasat Barmeī Stele (K 744), placed in the 10th century, furnishes evidence of the recitation of the Bhārata. The Prasat Sankhah Inscription (K 218) mentions the teaching of the Bhārata, alongwith the Purāṇas and Rāmāyaṇa. The Prasat Khna Inscription (K 661) says that King Sūryavarman I was fond of sacred narrations from the Bhārata and others (*bhārat-ādi-kathā-rataḥ*).

Mahabharata in the plastic arts of Kampuchea. The exquisite temple of Banteai Srei, which means "The Women's Citadel", formed part of Īśvarapura in ancient times and was dedicated to Śiva. It pertains to the second half of the tenth century when classical Khmer art was beginning to come into full bloom. Its pediments have been superbly executed in balanced rhythm and harmony. One of these pediments depicts an episode from the Mahabharata wherein apsara Tilottamā stands between Bhīma and Duryodhana (May 1954:128-9).

Episodes from the Mahabharata provided scenes to embellish the Baphuon. Its tympanons relate incidents from the great Epic. The vivid skill of the craftsmen enact events with gusto. The pyramid temple was constructed around 1050-66 and it became the grandeur of Yaśodharapura. Its shining copper-coloured towers are mentioned by Chou Ta-kuan. The episodes of both the epics of Rāmāyaṇa and Mahabharata were carved on individual panels with superb craftsmanship which was never excelled. The Baphuon is a significant milestone to Angkor Wat, the supreme masterpiece of Khmer art, unequalled in spaciousness and splendour, and built in enduring strength.

Angkor Wat was constructed in the 12th century by Sūryavarman II, a mighty military leader whose sway extended to the South China Sea in the east, to Champa (South Vietnam) and Bay of Bandon (Malaya) in the south, to the Pagan kingdom in the west. The long wall spaces of the outer galleries of Angkor bear narrative bas-reliefs from the stories of Viṣṇu, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahabharata. The southern section of the west wall of the outer gallery has scenes where Viṣṇu, incarnated as Kṛṣṇa, aids the Pāṇḍavas. They vibrate with the martial strength of the twelfth century imperial forces. The fight between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas covers 49 meters: the longest bas-relief of the Mahabharata in the world. They have a freedom of movement that transmits vigorous dynamism to the whole.

Mahabharata in the Kabuki theatre of Japan. The well-known Kabuki drama "Narukami" is derived from the legend of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, known in Japanese as Ikkaku Sennin, that is Ekaśṛṅga. This episode is derived from the Mahabharata (3.110.23-113) and has been conveyed to Japan through the Kyōritsuisō or Ching-lü-i-hsiang, an anthology of different themes from the sutras and vinaya works. It was compiled by Seng-min and Pao-ch'ang in A.D. 516 under the Liang dynasty. It has avadānas of heaven, earth, Buddha, Bodhisattvas, śrāvakas, cakravartins, kings and queens, princes and merchants, ṛṣis and brāhmacārins, brāhmaṇas and gr̥hapatis, common men and women, gods and demons, beasts, birds, insects and hells. The sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga has never seen a woman and is seduced at first sight by a princess, the daughter of king Lomapāda. The whole legend has been translated from Chinese into French by Édouard Chavannes in *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* (3.233ff no.453). The legend of the Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga (Unicorn) reached Mediaeval Europe (Beal, *Romantic Legend of Buddha*, p.124 no.2). Hsüan-tsang mentions a hermitage in Gandhāra where Ekaśṛṅga lived near the foothills of Swat mountains. Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga appears in Japanese and Tibetan masks employed in

theatrical representations (B. Laufer, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armor*, pl.XI). Ekaśṛiṅga figures in Chinese clay figures.

The Mahabharata has been the epic halo of the Hindu-Buddhist mind, so poetic, so melancholy, so ancient, so vibrant. It has lorded over our conscience for centuries. So pervasive has been its grip, that it has continued its journey even into Chinese texts that reflect the Buddhist spirit. In A.D. 251 the Sogdian monk K'ang Seng-hui translated a collection of tales on the six pāramitās (Nj.143, K206) which reflects the birth of the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (Lévi 1934:98). Another tale in the same work reminds one of Mahabharata 12.137 (Lévi 1934:129). In the same year K'ang Seng-hui translated an old collection of avadānas (Nj. 1359, K1005) entitled Chin tsa p'i yü ching whose description of a sumptuous magic mansion parallels the Mahabharata 2.47 (Lévi 1934 : 139). The legend of birds who took off with the net of the bird-catcher reminds of the Udyogaparva 2455-63 (Lévi 1934:154). In A.D. 472 Kekaya and T'ang-yao translated 121 avadānas or tales under the Chinese title Tsa pao tsang ching (Nj.1329, K1001). Its tale of an old brāhmaṇa who questioned cheats has parallels in Mahabharata 2.41.30-41 (Lévi 1934:222). The story of 'man in the well' in the sixth century anthology of tales Ching lu i hsiang by Seng-min and Pao-ch'ang (K 1050) is found in the Mahabharata XI (Lévi 1934:235).

Mahabharata in Mongolia. A Mongolian resume of the Mahabharata is included in the commentary of the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi entitled *Subashidi-yin tayilburi cindamani-yin tülkigür kemegdekü* (Mukden ed. p.220 et seq.). This work was translated in 1778-9 by Blo-bzañ-tshul-khrims, the doctor from the Cayan ayula-yin süme or White Mountain Monastery in the Chaqar province, from the Tibetan original of Sa-skya paṇḍita. The Mongolian commentary which contains the epic is a revised version of the Tibetan commentary of Rin-chen-dpal-bzañ-po. It has remained a very popular work among the Mongols as a model of literary composition and didactic writing for centuries. It has been a powerful vehicle for transmitting the classical stories and epic of India to the remote regions of Northern Asia inhabited by Mongolian-speaking peoples.

Mahabharata legends in Thailand. The influence of the Mahabharata is to be seen in the moralising story *Krishna Son Nong* written by Prince Paramanujit (1790-1853), which is taken directly from the third Vana-parva. Two Classical Thai works deal with the narrative of Aniruddha, the *Aniruth* from the time of King Phra Narai, and the *Unaruth* which was written in 1783. The hero of these stories is the son of Pradyumna

and the grandson of Kṛṣṇa. During a hunt, he carries away a Tree-spirit Princess Usa (Uṣā), daughter of the mighty demon Phan (Bāṇ Āsura). In the end Aniruddha and Uṣā are united in wedlock by the aid of Kṛṣṇa (Boisselier 1976:196)

// Now we pass on to Indonesia, where the Mahabharata has matured into a prime cultural phenomenon which has no counterpart even in India. Its expression in the Performing Arts, in wayang, reached such a high level of sophistication that audiences are moved to tears, and why not. It is a divine creation: the story of Murvakala relates how the wayang kulit and its accompanying gamelan were created by Batara Guru, that is, Lord Śiva.

Mahabharata in Indonesia. In Indonesia the Mahabharata has been most vibrant in literature as well as in the performing arts. Known in these isles as the Aṣṭādaśa-parva and in a shortened form as Parva, it has continued to excite the creative talent of the people. The introductory maṅgalācaraṇa of the Old Javanese Ādiparva, in vasantatilakā metre, recounts the names of the 18 parvas. Eight parvas are extant in Old Javanese prose adaptations, with Sanskrit quotations scattered throughout the narrative. They constitute the belles-lettres of ancient Indonesia and to this day Parvas continue to be adapted for children's comics.

The following Parvas are available in Old Javanese: Ādi-parva, Virāṭa-parva, Udyoga-parva, Bhīṣma-parva, Āśramavāsa-parva, Mosala-parva, Prasthānika-parva, Svargārohaṇa-parva. The last parva ends with a lengthy epilogue on the holiness of the Mahabharata and the fruits that accrue from its reading. The Indonesian adapters have kept close to Vyāsa or as said in the Old Javanese Virāṭaparva: *mangjavākēn Byāsamata*. Instead of mechanical translation, they have produced works of literary merit, without what they term *kavi-lilā-lālana* or the "playful liberties of the poet". Simple and lucid, they tell the story vividly and with fluency. Sanskrit quotations abound to enhance the authenticity and gravity of the text. The Indonesian parvas do not seem to conform to one or the other Indian recensions of the Epic. The Indonesian Virāṭaparva is a unique instance of an exact date of its first recital, one could say the première, of an Old Javanese text. Its recitation continued from 14 October to 12 November 1996. Some parvas were written under the patronage of King Śrī Dharmmavarmśa Tēguh Anantavikramottuṅgadeva. The last four parvas are short and give the impression of being more recent. They are the works of different authors. The Ādi-parva and Virāṭa-parva have provided the wayang purva stories, while the Udyoga- and Bhīṣma-parva are the source of Bhāratayuddha.

Mpu Kaṇva's Arjuna-vivāha is derived from the Vana-parva (adhyāya 37ff). It marks the beginning of East Javanese kakavin literature and at the same time shines out as the best both in composition and style. Simplicity and naturalness are its virtuosity. The poem was written under the patronage of King Erlāṅga, probably between the years 1028 and 1035.

In the Harivaṁśa-parva, maṅgala is addressed to Viṣṇu incarnated as Kṛṣṇa and King Jayabhaya. Bhāratayuddha is also addressed to King Jayabhaya. When Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas have gone to heaven, the Kali age comes, and Viṣṇu incarnates in His Majesty Jayabhaya who restores peace in Java. It is a clear statement that Mahabharata was an integral element in the concept of the State in Indonesia and Indonesian kings considered themselves to be incarnations of the heroes of the Mahabharata. The concerns of ephemeral events could thus derive sustenance from the blessed immortality of the Epic, to drink of the cool waters from the Lake of Memory. The opening maṅgala verse of the Ghaṭotkacāśraya is addressed to King Jayakṛta as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The epilogue is by Mpu Panuluh. In the Bhāratayuddha the maṅgala verses eulogise "the hero, who devotes himself fully to the performance of his sacrifice on the battle-field, desiring the extirpation of all adverse powers. With perfect composure he uses as flower-offerings the head ornaments from the hair of his enemies who have fallen in battle. The forehead ornaments of the deceased kings are his rice-grains; his sacrificial fire is the blazing fires of the palaces of his adversaries. His defeated adversaries acknowledge him as their king. Therefore the whole world honours him with the name bhaṭāra Jayabhaya. Śiva, surrounded by gods and ṛṣis, descends from heaven to grant him a favour. He shall be ruler of the world, vanquisher of foes (*jayaśatru*) and one with him (Śiva) in being".

In Indonesia the Parvas were the symbol of active power of victory, of vanquishment of enemies, and of the manifestation of the Absolute in the person of the king. The Bhārata was also called Jaya (*tato Jayam udirayet*). That is why Mpu Śeḍah praised the King as the favourite of Śiva in the introduction of his Bhāratayuddha and Mpu Panuluh the author of the latter part of the kakavin celebrated him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. The text is explicit that it was the king himself who ordered the enunciation of his heroic feats in his pre-incarnation as Kṛṣṇa. King Jayakṛta celebrated in the third stanza of the Ghaṭotkacāśraya as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa can be Śṛṅga-Kṛtajaya who ruled at the end of the 13th century. The three kāvyas follow in general the story of the epic, particularly the Bhāratayuddha. It commences with the preparations for the great war (Udyogaparva, adhyāya 89 onwards) and ends with the massacre of the Pāṇḍava heroes in the Sauptika-parva. The essential structure remains intact and drastic cutting of details and digressions

puts in sharp relief the dramatic high points. Deviations occur, their sources await investigation. Popular inventions, confusions and fusions cannot be ruled out when an epic comes alive, and when it conditions and creates the inner dynamics of life. The horizons of the Sanskrit Mahabharata is the individuality and wholeness of India and a deep commitment to her ideals and institutions. Whereever was the tread of the Epic there it became the vehicle of integration, unifying impulses, vital kinships and ennobling experiences, awakening men to shared harmonies.

There are a number of kakavins or kāvya in Old Javanese with Kṛṣṇa as the central figure. Panuluh's *Harivaṁśa* is the first of them. Its first part gives the genealogy of Kṛṣṇa's ancestors and the second pertains to the abduction of Rukmiṇī. Kṛṣṇa's abduction of Rukmiṇī was the most popular theme in ancient Indonesia. It is the subject of another kakavin, namely the *Kṛṣṇāyana* by Mpu Triguna. The *Kṛṣṇāyana* is depicted in a series of reliefs on the second terrace of the Panataran temple in East Java. The theme of *Harivaṁśa* and *Kṛṣṇāyana* is the same, namely, the war concomitant to the abduction of Rukmiṇī when about to be married to the King of Cedi. *Kṛṣṇāyana* is closer to Indian sources, and the *Harivaṁśa* is freer, more original and livelier in its characterisation. The independence of the *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* is striking. Its story centres around Kṛṣṇa's daughter Kṣīti-sundarī, who is unknown in the Indian Mahabharata and Purāṇas.

Tanakung is the last poet of the last century of the Majapahit empire. His *Pārthayajña* relates Arjuna's journey to Mount Indrakīla, when the five Pāṇḍava brothers are in utter dejection after Yudhiṣṭhira has lost everything in the dice-game and Draupadī has suffered the most humiliating insults. It is a blowup of a short incident in the life of Pāṇḍavas into a full-length didactic-mystical kakavin. It is represented in the plastic arts as reliefs on Caṇḍi Jago, a temple dedicated to Viṣṇuvardhana who died in 1268.

Among the post-Majapahit kakavins, we may mention the *Subhadrā-vivāha* or *Pārthāyana* 'Arjuna's wanderings'. It recounts Arjuna's adventures in his journey to holy places. It agrees with the OJ. *Ādiparva*. A few pages (pp.197-204 of Juynboll's edition) have grown into a kakavin of 55 cantos. At the end of twelve years Arjuna returns to his relations in Indraprastha, with Subhadrā. It is a work of the end of the 15th century.

The *Abhimanyu-vivāha* is a close adaptation of the *Virāṭa-parva* in verse. To adhere to the norms of a kakavin, the poet has added descriptive passages and the poem ends with a long passage on the wedding. This gives it the name. Another episode from the *Ādiparva* provides the subject of *Harivijaya*.

Kṛṣṇa is the central figure in *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* or *Kālayavan-āntaka*, *Kālāntaka* or *Kṛṣṇakālāntaka*, *Kṛṣṇāntaka* "Kṛṣṇa's Death", and *Kṛṣṇāndhaka* or *Kāmsa*.

Several minor kakavins have derived their subject-matter from the Parvas, e.g. *Āstikāśraya*, *Āstikāyana* (*Āstika's adventures*), *Dimbi-vicitra*, *Ratna-vijaya* (the story of demons Sunda and Upasunda) from the *Ādi-parva*. *Indravijaya* and *Ambāśraya* go back to the *Udyoga-parva*. Stories from the seven Old Javanese Parvas featured as full-length kakavins, the *Svargārohaṇa-parva* is an exception. There is no kakavin from any other parva of the Mahabharata. Thus there is no possibility of the remaining ten parvas of the Sanskrit Mahabharata having existed in Old Javanese prose versions. Later kakavins show marked deviations from the Mahabharata: e.g. *Dharmakusuma* and *Surāntaka* diverge from their source the *Vana-parva*. The Parvas remained vigorously creative, prolific and plentiful, for as the *Koravāśrama* says: "without the Pāṇḍavas and the Koravas there is no order or law in the world" (Zoetmulder 1974:437).

Jasadipura I and *Jasadipura II* have rendered the *Bhāratayuddha* into Modern Javanese in *tembang macapat* metre. The former was the Court Poet of Paku Buwono III (1749-1788). In Indonesia the Mahabharata was more popular than the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as it was an inexhaustible quarry of legends for writers and as a major repertoire for wayang theatre, the life and soul of the Indonesian.

The word wayang means 'shadow'. Wayang Purva is the oldest form and derives its repertoire from the Parvas. In fact, the words *purva* and *parva* are interchanged. Shadows of puppets are projected on a canvas stretched out on a wooden frame called *paṅguṇ*. The wayang has been an effective means by which the masses have imbibed and transmitted values. It has a place and function in the education of a child. According to R. Suprpto, wayang represents "female splendour, body balance and poise, harmony and self-confidence, intelligence and a concentrated mind, mental power, awareness and consciousness, beauty of body and colour combination, peace of mind and inner control, and cultivated self-discipline". Megavati Sukarnoputri, daughter of President Sukarno, and Guntur Sukarnoputra, the eldest son of President Sukarno, showed talent as wayang wong dancers. Through wayang, Mahabharata's energy and exercise, rhythm and balance, culture and education, self-control and contemplation, charm and grace, nature and nurture to a Javanese. The princes of Java considered themselves incarnations of the heroes of the Mahabharata and the wayang was an identification with their primordial ancestors.

The texts for wayang were the vast genre of *lakon*, which were based on and inspired by the Parvas. J. Kats gives the titles of 147 *lakons* which are texts used by *dalangs*. The *dalang* is a ritual performer and a skilled entertainer, whose effect on the spectators is voiced in the words: "The more we watch then, the more attractive they

appear. Eventually we can't take our eyes off them" (Sweeney 1972:39). While the lakons drew their inspiration from the Mahabharata, they modified and enlarged, innovated and accentuated the contents of the Epic, attuning them to the mind and moods, time and texture of society. The titles of some lakons are Lk. Sañ hyañ Visnu krama, Lk. Narasoma, Lk. Bima buñkus, Lk. Palgunadi. The lakons are divided into eleven sections by J. Kats:

1. The divine origin of the Epic heroes Pāṇḍavas and Koravas.
2. Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāṣṭra
3. Hunting by Pāṇḍavas and Koravas
4. Expulsion of the Pāṇḍavas from the Court
5. Pāṇḍavas at Namarta
6. The game of dice
7. The twelve-year exile
8. The stay at Virāṭa
9. Preparations for the War
10. The Great War
11. After the War

Wayang travelled from Java to Bali. In Bali the repertoire of the wayang is more extensive, and the Balinese dalang borrows directly from the ancient kakavins and not from their later prose or verse adaptations.

A fundamental piece of research on wayang is the work of J.Kats, *De Wayang Poerwa: een vorm van Javaans Toneel*, published in 1923 by the Balai Pustaka or Commission for Folk Literature. It provides basic information on several aspects of wayang: its origin, antiquity, character, various forms in prose and poetry, contents of their four cycles of prehistory (i), Arjuna Sasrabau (ii), Rāma (iii), and Pāṇḍavas (iv), the classification and contents of lakons, technical construction, meaning of wayang for our times, symbolism and aesthetic significance, recapitulation of the stories of the four cycles of wayang, genealogies of Epic heroes in the lakons, etc. This magnum opus of 446 pages on the wayang purva, deserves to be translated into English.

The Mahabharata has been written, sculpted and performed over South-East Asia in a profound unity of ritual and repertoire, myth and meaning, cosmic transcendence and intrinsic dynamism of life.

26. SANSKRIT IN THE RENAISSANCE OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The names of Asia and Europe were learnt by the Greeks from an Asian people. Assyrian monuments contrast between *asu* "(the land of) the rising sun" and *ereb* "(the land of) darkness or the setting sun". *Asu* became *Asia* and *ereb* came to be *Europe*. These names were passed on by the Phoenicians to the Greeks. In Homer, Europa is a young Phoenician princess whose beauty fires the love of Zeus. She is the personification of the continent of Europe. The earliest mention of Europe is in the Homeric 'Hymn to Apollo'. The distinction between Europe and Asia is found in Aeschylus in the 5th century B.C. The contrasts and contradictions of Asia and Europe have dominated the history of man. The intellectual domination of Asia by European civilisation continues. The sun rises in the East, ideas arise in the West.

In 1801, Sir William Jones wrote in the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches*: "Though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince (Alexander) that the Asiatics are born to be slaves, yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid". This was the main thrust in the six substantial volumes of "The History of British India" by the renowned Utilitarian philosopher and writer James Mill, which appeared in 1817. They made an astounding and continuing impression. Mill attacked the eternity of India. By his assessment, contemporary as well as ancient India, whether in science, religion, government, law, or political economy, was barbarous. Ever since the first publication of Mill's famous work, the perception of India has been under his shadow. A decade or later after it was published, Macaulay referred to the History in the House of Commons as "on the whole the greatest historical work which has appeared in our language since that of Gibbon", and afterwards in his famous Minute on Indian Education paid it the compliment of using some of his material.

For India, rays of hope were to shine from the transformation of conscience that Europe had been undergoing since the Renaissance. The forces liberated in the Renaissance took a specific bias, namely that of Humanism, the particular form assumed by human self-esteem. It indicates the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being, away from theological thrall, and he derived peculiar assistance in this effort from Greek and Roman literature, leaning rather to the side of man than of divinity. It was the fountain of renascent youth, beauty and freedom.

As monarchical rule was overthrown in the United States and France, the citizenry discovered an emotional identification with the forms and images of the ancient

republics. To them Greece and Rome were not dead civilizations, but the living birth-places of freedom and democracy. Their affinity with the ancient world not only gave them a sense of heroism and glory, but it also furnished convenient precedents for the new governments in America and France, and to a certain extent the British constitutional monarchy. The ancient Athenian commonwealth and Roman republic became the symbols of liberty and the new order. The senior legislative houses in the United States, France and later in the Latin American republics, were named senates after the old Roman prototype.

The passion for Hellenism brought Europe to the threshold of Eternal India. After all, the Greeks had admired India as the source of all philosophy. Dusebios (4th cent. B.C.) reports that an Indian had discussed philosophy with Socrates at Athens. The philosopher Pythagoras, who swayed Greek intellectual life from the 6th century B.C. onwards, transmitted Indian ideas. It was commonly held among the Greeks that India was the land of wisdom: for instance by the noted author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 70 B.C.), Apuleius (ca.150 A.D.) and Philostratos (early 3rd century). The popular satirist Lucian (2nd cent. A.D.), in his "Runaways", lets the Goddess of Philosophy tell Jupiter that she first descended upon "the Indians, the mightiest nation upon earth". To cite Sedlar: "India served as an object upon which educated Greeks projected their own demoralization, namely their loss of confidence in contemporary Greek culture and institutions. Thus India became an idealized country, abundantly fruitful, while Indian philosophers came to possess a wisdom superior to that of the Greeks". The linguistic affinity between Sanskrit and their language had, however, eluded the Greeks.

The European quest for the origin of languages is recorded as early as Herodotus. In his History he notes that since the days of Psammetichus of Egypt men searched for the origin of language and the reason for their similarities and diversities. In the Mediaeval Ages, Hebrew was taken as the starting point for the evolution of Greek and Latin, compare for instance, Richardson's "A Disseration on Language", published in 1777. The Hebraic hypothesis led to blind alleys.

Boxhorn was the first to postulate a theory of common origin of Indo-European languages. He did not publish any work. His ideas became known through his friend George Horn in the latter half of the 17th century. He postulated some sort of a common language which he called Scythian, as the mother of Greek, Latin, German and Persian from which 'like dialects would start'. No lesser a person than Leibniz added his authority to this theory of the 'Scythian' origin of the peoples and the languages of Europe. In the first volume of the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy, Leibniz attacked the old Hebraic

hypothesis. He put forward a theory which was very similar to that of Boxhorn and he clearly distinguished the Indo-European from the Semitic and the Finno-Ugrian groups. Now linguistics had rightly bid goodbye to its Mediaeval moorings. Studies reached the threshold of a new era. The ancient Greeks were overwhelmed by Persian might. The new term for the family was 'Scythian'. It was natural that Scythian or Persian dominate the scene. It is evident from a letter of William Jones to Prince Czartoryski dated 19 Feb 1779: "Procopius, I think, mentions the great intercourse both in war and peace between the Persians and the nations in the north of Europe and Asia whom the ancients knew by the general name of Scythians. Many learned investigators of antiquity are fully persuaded that a very old and almost primaeval language was in use among these northern nations from which not only the Celtic dialects but even the Greek and Latin are derived".

In 1786, on the horizons shone a new light, the light of Sanskrit. Sir William Jones started to learn Sanskrit in September 1785 and after a study of mere four months he was led to a realisation which sparked off the discovery of comparative and historical philology: "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps, no longer exists".

Jones added Sanskrit to the 'Scythian' family of languages. The scientific age of historical linguistics had dawned. Europe was on the verge of discovering the origins of her own culture and its original meanings, that had eluded the Greek Euhemerus in the third century B.C., or the Roman statesman, scholar and orator Cicero in the first century B.C.

The observations of William Jones were in tune with the mood of the times. The European mind had been moving away from the Age of Reason, to a movement that is known in general as Romanticism. The idea that the Europeans migrated from a distant and unknown land soon fired the imagination of the Romantic mind. Friedrich Schlegel, a high priest of the Romantic movement, coined the word 'Comparative Grammar'. The English translation of the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa was done into German in 1791 by Georg Forster, and it awakened the highest enthusiasm of literary men like Herder and Goethe. The European literateurs were surprised that India too had excellent dramas. Dramas were no more the monopoly of the Greeks. To the Classical Graeco-Roman world was

added the more ancient and pristine Classical world of India. The Romantic movement idealised the Classical world of Greece and Rome. The emotional espousal of Greek independence that was prevalent all over Europe and the U.S. was actively expressed in letters and the arts. Both classical countries -- Greece and Italy -- were under the yoke of foreign tyrants, and intellectuals and poets passionately championed their cause. Byron's *Isles of Greece*, Shelley's *Hellas and Prometheus Unbound*, Friedrich Holderlin's *Hyperion*, Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales*, and Vittorio Alfieri's tragedies, all upheld these liberation movements.

For the Romantic School, headed by the brothers Schlegel, Indian literature had a special attraction. Friedrich Schlegel, the father figure of the Romantic movement, expected from India nothing less than "the unfolding of the history of the primeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness".

The thorough investigator Franz Bopp (1791-) published in 1816 the results of his researches on the conjugation system of the Sanskrit language in comparison with those of Greek, Latin, Persian and German. The Indo-European family of languages was thus established. In fact, Bopp used the term "indo-europaisch". Europe had found a new identity with Sanskrit. European man had found his consciousness lapsed in space and time. Sanskrit was the discovery of the primal soul of Europe, the discovery of her deeps. To cite Pablo Neruda: "deracination of human beings leads to frustration in one way or another obstructing the light of the soul". Sanskrit was the majestic and mysterious syllables from the dawn of time, the deep-rooted vitality, inexhaustible history, and limitless growth. Winternitz says: "if we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, if we wish to understand the oldest Indo-European culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved".

As Sanskrit broke upon the scene, European languages found a new *raison d'être* for their efflorescence. European languages were trying to assert themselves for at least five centuries. For instance, Martin Luther (1483-1546) translated the Bible into German. His remarkable handling of the German language influenced and shaped the development of modern German. English prose owes in abundant measure to King James' Authorized Version of 1611.

These efforts of Biblical translations did not take the European languages very far. With the study of Sanskrit, dictionaries of European languages were taken up on historical principles. These lexicographical monuments revealed their deep roots, their evolution over centuries, and their rich semantic spectra. The European languages gained a new self-confidence. Moreover, Greek and Latin were no longer the original or prime

languages. Sanskrit was more ancient than both of them, more transparent, more logical, and could explain the formation of these Classical languages themselves. Now modern European languages could stand by the side of Greek and Latin, which like them, stood in the same relation to primordial Sanskrit.

The National Revival (about 1775-1850) of Czechoslovakia was a great social movement characterized above all by a national consciousness on the part of the people, and a drive for economic and cultural independence. Thanks to one of the reforms of Joseph II the German language became the only official language of the country. At the same time he abolished feudalism in 1781. As a result former serfs could now move to the towns and their children could study. The Czech language started to gain momentum. Dobrovsky (1753-1829) wrote a definitive grammar of Czech. The existence of linguistic connection between Czech and the ancient and perfect Sanskrit was a great encouragement to the oppressed nation in its efforts to improve its language. Many others shared Dobrovsky's interest in India. The advocates of Czech pointed out that their language was closer to Sanskrit than German, hence was more ancient and deserved a place of honour. They cited the example: *stara matra dati medu* = Sanskrit *sthavirā mātā dadāti madhu* 'the old mother offers honey' (to the guest).

The Bulgarians struggled hard in the 9th century against the Three-Language Doctrine brought forward by the German clergy. According to this dogma church services could be held only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Brothers Cyril and Methodius created the Cyrillic alphabet to replace them by Old Bulgarian, so that in every Bulgarian church the people would hear their own tongue. Cyril defended the right of the Slavs to have their own script: "Doesn't God send an equal amount of rain to all? And doesn't the sun shine for everybody..... How is it that you are not ashamed of recognising only three languages, and of decreeing that all other nations and tribes should be deaf and blind? A people are naked without books." Once again in the 19th century, during the struggle of National Revival language became important. Leaders were proud that their language Bulgarian was closer to Sanskrit and hence older than any current non-Slavic European language. Old Bulgarian has *synu* for Sanskrit *sūnu* "son", and *dini* for Sanskrit *dina* "day". This fired the Bulgarians with a new enthusiasm for their language.

The Germanisation of Lithuania started from the 12th century as a result of the proclamation of a crusade against them by the Pope. The Lithuanians lost on the battlefield, lost their ancient faith and as a result their language declined. Czarist regime in the 19th century forbade the use of Lithuanian.

Sanskrit opened up new universes of how man has expressed ideas. Sanskrit had preserved a rich system of inflexions, both declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs. It had transparent roots, which showed the dynamics of vocabulary creativity. Sanskrit revealed the unique linguistic phenomenon of Indo-European languages wherein prefixes enriched human horizons of communication, for example, inspect, suspect, aspect, respect, conspectus--all from 'spect-', specere 'to see, look at'. Language is formed. Man has created words, through them ideas, thoughts, categories, and they in turn have brought into existence solid objects, the machines, and so on. Language is a living organism. It gives man an ever-renewing life. Language led to science. Language was the epic of creativity.

Sanskrit led to two new principles in the methodology of research: (i) comparative study, (ii) historic development. The newly evolved comparative-historical method was applied to the study of language and it resulted in the publication of the biggest Sanskrit-German Dictionary in seven large volumes by Böhtlingk and Roth in 1852. It created a new intellectual climate in which evolution of language was fully established as a part of human march onwards. This milieu influenced the natural sciences. Seven years after the appearance of the Dictionary, came out Darwin's monumental work "Origin of Species" in 1859, who soundly established the theory of organic evolution, that was to determine the development of natural sciences.

Dictionaries of European languages on historical principles were undertaken on the model of the Sanskrit-German. Wörterbuch. In 1854 was published the first volume of Grimm's German Dictionary, whose completion took a century. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm were the most distinguished brother-scholars of the German Romantic period, renowned as the collectors and editors of "Grimm's Fairy Tales" (1812-15). They worked assiduously at the great dictionary of the German language, a task so large that it was impossible for the brothers to finish it themselves. Its last volume appeared in 1960.

"Ever since the Normans conquered England in 1066, the every-day tongue of the British Isles had suffered a long eclipse. Even in its native land, English was a second-class citizen, owning neither the status of Latin and Greek nor the aristocratic patina of French. Those who studied the origins of the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare were essentially amateurs, as there was little prestige to be gained by such work". In 1857 James Murray commenced "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles" to show the extensive heritage of the English language. Its first section was printed in January 1884 by the Oxford University. It gave the historical development of every English word.

It opened up a new wonder. Its editor, its moving spirit, James Murray, was knighted. It embodies and interprets to this day the culture of the English language from its earliest documentation to the present times. English now had a rich heritage and was as respectable as any of the Classical languages or elegant French or intellectual German. Continuous progress and sustained development arising out of historical-comparative studies afforded a new esteem to European languages. The Oxford Dictionary took the etymologies of English words far back to Sanskrit, e.g. the word thousand has the base *teu*: Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic' (from the root *tu*) and *hundred*. It can be seen in Old Norse *thūs-hund*, Old Frankish *thuschunde*, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand was power, strength. Time, Latin *tempus* was Sanskrit *tapas* (with a nasal *m* inserted) which means 'heat'. Day is the hot part of the cycle of 24 hours. The vast time scales in Sanskrit exploded the Biblical myth of 6000 years of creation. In Sanskrit the *Sṛṣṭi Samvat* or Era of Creation runs to two billion years. This made possible geological time, paleontological time, and astronomical time with billions of years of creation.

Till the discovery of Sanskrit, classical European mythology was a fragment of metaphors. With the rise of Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, it became possible to sift and interpret the several strands that wove the magnificent fabric of Classical myths. Europe had to wait for 2,300 years to know the origins of Zeus, when Sanskrit was discovered in the 18th century, though Zeus was the mythical deep of European time. The word 'Europe' itself was born out of the myth of the young princess Europa who was carried away by Zeus disguised. Today Europe awaits elopement by Sanskrit *Dyaus*. Modern civilisation again needs the aroma of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the eternal and the evolving in a fruitful unity. In it the endless past and the fleeting present live together for a thrust in the future sans end.

27. THE CULTURAL SYMPHONY OF INDIA AND GREECE

Greece and Hellenic lands, have shed minds and horizons like rose petals into the history of modern man. The festival of Greek words flows through the dreams of science: new demands and new developments in scientific parlance are met by borrowing Greek words (e.g. electronics, biology). The word democracy is Greek: *demos* 'people' + *kratos* 'power' (Sanskrit *kratu*). The blue embrace of the seas and skies of Hellas matured during the Renaissance in brilliant flashes of science. Thus began the long pilgrimage of a new civilisation, immaculate in its commitment to ever-renewing progress. From its Hellenic roots surges the blood of Today in deep-rooted vitality and limitless growth. The Greeks were the first Westerners. The spirit of the West, the modern spirit, is a Greek discovery.

A tomb in Egypt and a theatre in Greece. To rejoice in life, to find the world beautiful and delightful to live in, was a mark of the Greek spirit.

The Greeks were the first people in the world to play, and they played on a great scale. All over Greece there were games, all sorts of games, athletic contests of every description: Olympics. "You Greeks are always children; there is no such thing as an old Greek" said an Egyptian priest to Solon the sage of Athens, who came to Egypt by ship to see the wonders of the land of the Nile.

The Greeks had the genius to sum up the knowledge of their times both in logic and aesthetics: on the one hand in a cathedral of thought and definitions, and on the other in a world of imagery and poetry.

On the soil of Hellas stand ruins grooved by the nails of forgotten gods. They are syllogisms in stone: symbolic tangents of what took place in the secret gardens of human ideas and emotions.

Grousset calls India: *l'Inde, cette Grèce excessive*. In Greece everything tends to harmony. Greek mathematics and geometry concentrate on the finite and the measurable. With India, *cette Grèce excessive*, it is different. Everything is immense, sublime and infinite. Counterparts to the Iliad and the Odyssey are to be found in the form of poetic continents, with tens of thousands of verses. In Greece, the world is always brought back to the measure of man. In India, man strives to adapt himself to a phantasmagoria of universes beyond the horizons of the mind.

The cultural similarities between Indians and Greeks in Homer reflect the common heritage of our peoples. Though Homer had heard the name of India, he confused it with eastern Ethiopia. Certain gods in Homer bear names derived from the same roots as their Indian counterparts: the Greek *Ouranos* is the Sanskrit *Varuṇa*, *Zeus*

is *Dyaus* 'Sky'. The similarities in their names and in some of the myths about them bear witness to a period when the Indian and Hellenic peoples came together.

The fragrance of the cultural heritage of India and Greece, the affinity of their roots, the sharing of the fragments of commonality: to appreciate their discovery in the last century we have to go back to the times of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I. The emperor spoke Greek with a bad accent. He was called 'The Great', because many of his laws were directed against Pagans who were forbidden to teach any subject whatsoever. Justinian expelled Pagan teachers from the once famous schools of philosophy at Athens. Along with other Pagan schools, in 529 he closed the Academy at Athens which was founded by Plato in 387 B.C. The whole period between the end of Classical civilization and the revival of learning in the 15th century, came to be termed The Dark Ages. The use of the term implied an exclusive respect for Classical standards in literature and art and a corresponding disparagement of all that was achieved between the decline of ancient culture and the work of Renaissance scholars, writers and artists.

What Mediaeval scholars retained of ancient literature they could not comprehend in the right spirit. Between them and the text of poet or historian hung a veil of mysticism, a vapour of misapprehension. The odour of unsanctity clung around those relics of the Pagan past. The forces liberated in the Renaissance assumed a specific form of human self-esteem, and hereby arose humanism derived from Greek and Roman literature, the *litterae humaniores*, letters leaning rather to the side of man than of divinity. The Greek Revival in the 18th century roused a desire to reappropriate the whole abandoned provinces of mundane energy, and a hope to emulate antiquity in works of living loveliness and vigour. For a generation nursed in scholasticism and stereotyped theological formulas it was the fountain of renascent youth, beauty and freedom, the shape in which the Helen of art and poetry appeared to the ravished eyes of mediaeval Faustus. The men who followed it knew that they were restoring humanity to its birth-right after a expatriation of ten centuries. The rise of the Romantic movement coincided with the discovery of the kinship of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin.

The inflexions of Greek with the categories of number, case, person, tense, and aspect, mood, voice, have their closest equivalents in Sanskrit. Indo-Iranian and Greek inflexions together with an extensive cognate vocabulary justified a reconstruction of Indo-European (EB. 10.852). Sanskrit *dadhāmi* is Greek *tithēmi*, *ēpheron* = Sanskrit *ābharam*. The Greek *patrāsi* (dat.pl. of *patēr*) corresponds to the Sanskrit locative *pitṛṣu*, even in respect of the accent (EB.10.855). Nouns and adjectives of the type *dusmenēs* "ill-affected" = Sanskrit *durmanāḥ* 'dispirited' exist only in Greek and Sanskrit (Wright

1912:208). The suffix *-ti* was almost as productive in Greek as in Sanskrit: compare Gk. *dōsis* : Skt. *dātiḥ*, Gk. *stāsis* : Skt. *sthitiḥ*.

The discovery of the genetic affinity of Sanskrit and Greek was the opening up of the voices of ancient minds at their noblest, the magnificence of the deeps of the Indo-European soul, transparent and intoxicating in its purity and maturity. The newly opened ways of a brilliant heritage gave a new form, sound, grace and rapture to an emerging modern world in the early 19th century. The vast gamut of the development of languages gave rise to the idea of evolution without any necessity for miraculous interposition or supernatural interference with the laws of nature. In 1816 appeared the momentous work of Franz Bopp who compared the conjugation system of Sanskrit, Greek and other languages: *Über das Conjugations-system der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache*. Thirtysix years later, in 1852 appeared the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, which interpreted the entire linguistic inheritance of Sanskrit, and established the concept of development in human speech. It was followed in 1859 by the monumental work of Charles Darwin (1809-1882) who soundly established the theory of organic evolution in his *Origin of Species*. Comparative philology of Sanskrit, Greek and other languages thus gave birth to a new scientific Weltanschauung of organic evolution wherein slow first steps led to a critical threshold that opened new ways in human thought.

The brisk intercourse between India and Greece is attested by the fact that a special rule was inserted in the great grammar of Pāṇini to distinguish three feminine forms of Yavana: a Greek woman was *yāvanī*, the curtain was *yavanikā* and the Greek script was *yavanānī*. A few common Greek words for pen, ink and book found their way into Sanskrit: Gk. *mélan* : Skt. *melā*, Gk. *kálamos* : Skt. *kalama*, Gk. *piḥsinon* : Skt. *pustaka*. The Greek word *sū rungā*: Skt. *suruṅgā* for mine, and Gk. *kampon* : Skt. *kampana* for camp, shows the impact of the Greeks on the Indian practice of besieging fenced cities. The common Sanskrit word for centre *kendra* is from Gk. *kentron*. Gk. *drachma* is known till our day in Hindi as *damri*.

To Maues, who reigned from c.80 to c.58 B. C., is assigned the first representation of a Buddha statue on his coin (Tarn 1951:400). His coins were minted at Puṣkalāvati the capital of Gandhāra, which he conquered around 70 B.C. A copperplate inscription from Taxila speaks of 'the Great King, the Great Moga' (Konow 1929:29). Moga is the Indianised form of Maues. Does the city of Moga in Panjab enshrine his name?

Demetrios Galanos, the first Greek Indologist, lived from 1760 to 1833. Galanos translated extracts from the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and several other Sanskrit texts. Unpublished materials of his lexicographical work were used by Sir M. Monier-Williams in his classical *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* published from Oxford in 1899. Galanos spent the last 40 years of his life at Varanasi to study and translate Sanskrit works into Greek. He bequeathed all his "wealth" for the founding of the National University of Athens. To celebrate the great Greek Indologist all his works should be collected and published in a series, and a Chair for Sanskrit should be established at the University of Athens. To an infinite silence and elusive enigma do the Indians and Greeks somehow belong.

Myths. A breath of the imperishable strength of youth permeates Greek genius, which is most alive and beautiful in the *Myth*. The Greeks felt this themselves.

In the fourth century B.C. the Greek philosopher Euhemerus propounded that all myths were of historical origin and that the gods were men who had performed great exploits. The Euhemeristic view was limited because of its extreme position. Till the discovery of Sanskrit, Greek mythology was a fragment of metaphors and dreams, pages torn from the album of Cleo, the Muse of History. With the rise of Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology it became possible to sift and interpret the several strands that wove the magnificent fabric of Greek myths: natural phenomena, origins of the universe, gods, men and animals, heroic legends and historical events, demons and monsters, the mystical and allegorical elements, the artistic and ethical parameters that gave rise to creative symbolisation in a galaxy of mythologies. The collective Greek appellation of the gods *théos* was the Vedic *deva*. The Sanskrit word clarified the conception of the gods as light (root *div* 'to shine') and their connection with heaven (*div*). The omnipresent Greek god *Zeus* was Vedic *Dyaus* 'sky', Latin *Ju-piter* = Sanskrit *Dyaus-pitar*. "What was at first only an appellative of the sky has here become the supreme ruler of the gods dwelling in the serene heights of heaven, who gathers the clouds, who wields the thunderbolt, and whose will is law" (Macdonell 27-28). The concept of Earth as mother and of Heaven as father (Skt. *Dyaus-pitar*, Gk. *Zeus-páter*, Latin *Jupiter*) was common to Vedic and Greek mythology. The name of *Uṣas* 'Dawn' is derived from the root *vas* 'to shine' and is cognate to Gk. *Εὐς*. The Gk. *Hélios* is allied to the Vedic *Sūrya* to whom ten entire hymns are devoted in the R̥gveda. *Trita*, who is impelled by Indra to slay the demon in the R̥gveda, phonetically corresponds to Gk. *tri'tos*. The Gk. *phegítai* are identified with the ancient tribe of the *Bhṛ̥gus* as fire-priests (Weber, ZDMG. 9.242). The *Bhṛ̥gus*, *Aṅgiras* and *Atharvans* are spoken of together in the

R̥gveda. The *Āṅgirasas* were higher beings intermediate between gods and men, attendants of *Agni*, who is so often described as a messenger between heaven and earth. They may possibly have been personifications of the flames of fire as messengers to heaven. This view is borne out by the etymological connection of *Āṅgiras* with the Greek *angelos* 'messenger'. They are the *angels* of English.

Dionysius was one of the most important deities of Olympus. He was the son of Zeus and the Theban princess Semele. He discovered the vine and became the god of wine and also that of ivy, that plant whose perennial hardiness may be taken as a symbol for the continuity of life. He is said to have travelled as far as India, in the midst of a triumphal procession. He was a god who loved joy and merry tumult. Maenads danced to the sound of his flute. The maenads were maid-servants of Dionysius and followed him in procession or else accompanied him dancing, intoxicated by mystical passion (Devambez 1966:163, 277). That Dionysius travelled to India is an ancient Greek indication of his links with our country. The maenads dancing to the tune of Dionysius remind of the *Gopīs* intoxicated with mystic passion on hearing the flute of *Kṛṣṇa*.

A vast corpus of legend has gathered around the person of *Kṛṣṇa*, crystallizing forgotten personalities into His picturesque figure. It is no easy task to separate the multiple strata that have gone into its formation from time to time. Various strands merge together in the Puranic traditions of *Kṛṣṇa* into an indivisible harmony of One Supreme. We shall have to bear this in mind to understand that parts of the *Kṛṣṇa* cycle betray nuances of the Graeco-Bactrian world which played a unique role in the radiation of Hellenistic elements to the Indian mainland. In the Pali version of the *Kṛṣṇa* legend, *Kaṁsa* was killed by *Vāsudeva*. When *Vāsudeva* had cut off the head of both king *Kaṁsa* and his brother the viceroy *Upakaṁsa*, the populace begged *Vāsudeva* and his brothers to be their guardians. Thereupon they assumed the sovereignty of *Asitañjana*. *Asitañjana* was the metropolitan city of Bactria. *Kṛṣṇa* is famous for his *hallīṣaka* (-saka) dance. Its etymology is unknown. It may be cognate to *Hellas* 'Greece', and the dance-form may be traced back to Hellenistic models. *Hallīṣaka* (with the dental sibilant) also recalls to us the ancient city of Eleusis, famous as the site of the Eleusinian mysteries, with its *Kallichoron* well ("of beautiful dances") mentioned in the Homeric hymn to *Demeter*. To the west of Eleusis lay the *Rharian* plain where *Demeter* sowed the first seeds of corn. *Kṛṣṇa* as the *Gopāla* also represents agrarian traditions. *Hallīṣaka* can go back to the Eleusinian mysteries or to the cult of the Thracian Nature-God *Dionysus* (alias *Bacchus*) "which gave a dominant role to women, and it provided a vent for the irrational passions

of the subconscious depths of the psyche". A Bacchanalian group has actually been discovered from Mathura wherein the drapery of the yakṣis is Greek (Tarn 1951:252 n.9).

Kṛṣṇa says in the Bhagavad-Gītā 9.19: *sad-asac-cāham* "I am both good and evil". So also the Orpheic tenets hold that man is "a creature of mixed origin, containing a divine principle (Dionysos) and an evil one (the Titans)". Orpheus was torn to pieces by women possessed by Dionysian frenzy. So also Kṛṣṇa was cursed to death by Gāndhārī. The association of Kṛṣṇa with Yavanas is apparent in his killing of the powerful asura Kāla Yavana. The depth and extent of Indian contacts with the Hellenistic world need extensive investigation. An amphitheatre with pronounced Graeco-Roman characteristics has been excavated at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. An apsidal temple has been exhumed at Sonkh near Mathura on the site of a modern nāga-temple: does *nāga* stand for a foreigner, a Greek?

Zeus has been worshipped as the master of gods and men throughout the Greek world. Even when a city had a special veneration for some other divinity, Zeus still took first place. Armed with his thunderbolt (*vajra*) he exterminated his enemies. He sat on his throne among the clouds on the summit of Mount Olympus. Athena who personified the Hellenic ideal, and who was the special patron of the people of Athens, was the daughter of Zeus. She sprang from his head (Devambez 1966:70). She was the symbol of wisdom as well as a warrior. At Delphi, Apollo revealed the will of his father Zeus to mortals. In Homer, Zeus is the father or natural ruler of gods and men. Around his person a rich mythology gathered over the centuries. Greek scholars tried to discover the origins of their gods. Ever since the third century B.C. when Euhemerus wrote his *Theogony*, the origins of Zeus were sought in various explanations. However, with the discovery of Sanskrit and the rise of comparative historical linguistics in early 19th century, the linguistic origins of Zeus could finally be found. Zeus was cognate to Sanskrit *dyaus(-pitar)*, Latin *Jū-piter*. The many tales of the love affairs of Zeus were but variants of the immemorial theme of the union of Father Sky and Mother Earth, the *dyaus pitā prithivī mātā* of the Ṛgveda, the first known document of the Indo-European peoples.

Zeus was the patron of several states, including Olympia. His widest function is expressed by the title *Panhellenios* or 'god of all Greeks'. "The most conspicuous temple of Zeus's worship under that epithet dates from the time of the Roman emperor Hadrian, although the hill called Panhellenion on the island of Aegina (Aigina) had an old shrine said to have been founded by Zeus's son Aeacus, ruler of Aegina" (EB.23.950).

The conquests of Alexander shifted the centre of Hellenic power eastward and left a vacuum for the emergence of a new power, the Republic of Rome. Rome thrust aside the Hellenistic monarchies and came to be acknowledged as the single great power in the Mediterranean world (CAH 7.v-viii). Greece lost her primacy in the West without gaining complete political or intellectual domination in the East. The final achievement of the Hellenistic movement was the world of ancient civilization, the *oecumene*, with the Greek *koine* as almost a universal language. The momentous consequences of the loss of Hellenistic hegemony in the West was their splendid cultural achievements in Asia. There was in externals a fusion of religions within the borders of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The Greeks and hellenised peoples were firmly entrenched on the north-western peripheries of India. Along with them arrived Panhellenios Zeus in Gandhāra.

In the art of Gandhāra Zeus became the inseparable companion of the Buddha as Vajrapāṇi. He wears the characteristic dress of a Graeco-Parthian attendant, namely a short chiton, "caught in round the waist and provided with a scalloped turn-over edge at the top" (Marshall 1960:47). He figures in several Gandhāra sculptures. To cite a few:

1. Grass-cutter Svastika presenting a bundle of grass to the bodhisattva, on his way to the bodhi tree, accompanied by Vajrapāṇi (Marshall 1960:46 fig. 61, 57 fig.76).
2. Lord Buddha being fanned with a fly-whisk by Vajrapāṇi (Marshall 1960:47 fig. 63)
3. Lord Buddha accompanied by Vajrapāṇi, visits a brahmin ascetic in his hut (Marshall 1960:48 fig. 66).
4. Lord Buddha accepting the submission of the Nāga Apalāla. Behind the Buddha is Vajrapāṇi clad in monk's robes, and with a third eye on his forehead (Marshall 1960:52 fig. 69)
5. Lord Buddha, attended by Vajrapāṇi is listening to the prophecy of the Nāga King Kālīka and his queen (Marshall 1960:57 fig. 75). In this sculpture of the period of adolescence of Gandhāra art, Vajrapāṇi has assumed a youthful appearance, a type that was to become familiar later on.
6. The bodhisattva as a starving and emaciated ascetic, seated in padmāsana. On the left he is flanked by Indra and Brahmā. On the left side is Sujātā with food and at her back is Vajrapāṇi. Sujātā is dressed in Greek chiton reaching the feet and a himation (Marshall 1960:61 fig. 84).
7. Courtesan Āmrapālī presents the mango grove to the Buddha. Vajrapāṇi is to the back on the left (Marshall 1960:69 fig.88).



Lord Buddha attended upon by Vajrapāṇi, who is metamorphosis of Zeus.
Berlin Museum. Height 15.75 inches.

The representation of Zeus as Vajrapāṇi in Gandhāra reliefs can be multiplied. From the role of an acolyte, Vajrapāṇi was destined to play a leading part in later Buddhism, specially in the development of Vajrayāna.

Synthesis of Indian and Greek forms occurred in the Gandhāra statues of the Buddha. The statues were drawn to Classic proportions following Hellenic models for physiognomy, gestures and drapery.

A relief depicting the Descent of the Buddha from the Trayastriṃśa Heaven has stylistic parallels to the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (Ackerman 1975:12-13).

Classical Greece gained direct access to India through the Persian Achaemenid empire. Greeks served in the Indian province of the Achaemenid dominions. The two Greek authors Skylax and Ktesias were Achaemenid servants. Herodotos relied on Persian sources. Indians in the army of Xerxes were on Greek soil. Greeks came into contact with Buddhism in the reign of emperor Aśoka (3rd century B.C.). Eusebios (4th century A.D.) reports that an Indian discussed philosophy with Socrates in Athens. The generalised resemblance between the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads and the *Arche* of the Greeks is striking. The doctrine of metempsychosis seems to have been derived by the Greek Orphics, Pherekydes, Pythagoras, Empedokles from India. The causal link between a person's current social status and his good or evil deeds in previous existences is found only in India and Hellas. "According to Diogenes Laertios, Pythagoras (6th cen. B.C.) was the first person in Greece to teach metempsychosis as a metaphysical idea" (Sedlar 1980:270). Orpheus is believed to have lived before Homer. By the 4th century B.C. Plato could refer to the doctrine of metempsychosis as "ancient tradition". Abstention from meat-eating was imported from India. Like the Indians, Plato claimed that animals and human beings possess the same soul.

The Greek sceptic philosopher Pyrrhon, who is said to have accompanied Alexander to India found Indian ascetic practices instructive. Reminiscences of the physical endurance of the Indian ascetics circulated widely in the Hellenistic world. The legend of Alexander and the Brahmins testifies favourable Greek disposition towards Indian ascetics and their wisdom. "India served as an object upon which educated Greeks projected their own demoralization, namely their loss of confidence in contemporary Greek culture and institutions. Thus India became an idealized country, abundantly fruitful, while Indian philosophers came to possess a wisdom superior to that of the Greeks" (Sedlar 1980:302).

With the invasion of India by Alexander, cultural interflow began. The memory of the historic horse of Alexander lives on in Punjab. Local peasants still venerate a

Buddhist stupa near Rawalpindi as its tomb where Alexander founded a city named Bucephala in his charger's honour. Nearchos (about 312 B.C., as quoted by Strabo born c.50 B.C.) refers to the use of writing material in India from well-beaten cotton cloth. It is the earliest reference to rag-paper in India. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of the Maurya emperor Candragupta, wrote an extensive account of the life and customs of India. The town of Sirkap near Taxila had a typical Greek layout. Ai Khanum was a genuine Greek city. Menandros, the Greek king of Bactria, appears in the Buddhist scripture *Milinda-pañha* "Questions of Milinda", as a devout Buddhist.

Numerous coins inscribed in Greek are found all over northwest India, while Greek inscriptions have been discovered in Bactria which have been discussed by Louis Robert in his paper 'De Delphes à l'Oxus'.

The ethnical term Yavana, or Yona in Middle Indic, occurs for the first time in the Rock Inscriptions of Aśoka II, V, XIII. The Yonas comprise here evidently the peoples of the five kings: Antiochos, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander, i.e. Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene, Epirus or Corinth, respectively. Inscriptions of Aśoka written in Greek and Aramaic have been discovered at Kandahar. They are the easternmost Greek inscriptions ever found.

The Besnagar Inscription datable to the first century B.C., was dedicated by Heliodoros, the son of Dion, who was the ambassador of Antialkidas to Kāśīputa Bhagabhadra. A number of inscriptions from the caitya-hall of Karli (1st cent. B.C.) contain the ethnicon Yavana. These Yavanas donated pillars, cisterns, dining halls and other items to the Buddhist community. The *Yavanar* are mentioned in early Tamil literature. The oldest testimony is in Puram 50.16-21 which describes the Yavanas as importers of wine. Puram 343.1-10 explains the import of western gold (Zvelebil 1956:401-410).

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea of the first century A.D. describes the ports and specific products imported from India into the Classical world. It speaks of Proklais (from Pukthalāvatī < Puṣkalāvatī) as a great trade emporium of Gandhāra and as famous for its steel. The Pahlavi *pōlāvatēn* and New Persian *pūlād* for steel is an adjectival noun from Middle Indic **pokkhalāvata* from the name of the town *Pokkhalāvatī* (mod. Charasadda). Like the Silk Route, a Steel Route must have linked India and Greece via Iranian lands. The Gypsies must have trod this Steel Route as itinerant iron-smiths in continuation of age-long traditions.

In a list of articles for which there was a ready market at Barygaza, the Periplus 49 says that the king would buy "good-looking virgins for concubines" and the way it

is put indicates a 'standing order' in that market (Tarn 1951:374). Kālidāsa represents the king as accompanied by Yavana women. Poseidonius say that Eudoxus shipped 'flute-girls' for his attempted voyage to India round the Cape in the end of the second century B.C. "In the third century Ptolemy II was importing Indian girls into Egypt along with Indian dogs and cattle" (Callixenus in Athen. 5.201a). The name of an Indian courtesan of sensual beauty at Alexandria is preserved as: *Jalāntaś-candra-capalā*, that is "shimmering as the reflection of the moon upon the waters". A name as rapturous as must have been her figure. So I leave you in this rapture, in liquid silence, and let the hymns go to sleep.

How the Ancient Indians and Greeks made their discoveries and how they brought a new world to birth out of the dark confusions of an old world that had crumbled away, is full of meaning for us today who seek a New Order. A white-hot spiritual energy was at work. The modern man seeks those deep influences that have worked with power through the centuries, touching with light of reason and grace of beauty the entire being of the ever-evolving world.

28. LITHUANIAN AND SANSKRIT

The very mention of Lithuanian opens up an image, a vision that gives a people their identity through language. It shows how the darkness of dreams becomes the new embodied hope. My father Prof. RaghuVira was stimulated and strengthened in his work on the development of Hindi by the history of the Lithuanian language. It has been the eternal continuity of these people; it rustles something deep in their being. My father felt that we in India share with our distant Lithuanian brothers the silent geography of lost frontiers. Political freedom is inseparable from language. We know for sure:

You remained with us, you sweet tongue

When everything was lost in pain and pressure.

My father would relate how grandmas in the remote villages narrated folk-tales to eager grand-children in their Lithuanian language which was despised by the Slavised nobility and punished by the Czarist regime. "The daina was abandoned by the courts, but it lived on in the villages, faithfully preserved by the poorest people of the country, guarded by the mother of the family, during the darkest period of Lithuanian history; the occupation by Tsarist Russia between 1795 and 1918". The grandmothers and mothers would tell their children and grandchildren: *Dievas dave dantis, duos ir duonos* 'God had given teeth. He will give food'. The sentence meant: when God has given life, he will grant us freedom. Language and freedom are inseparable.

Dievas = *devaḥ*

dave = *diye* (Hindi)

dantis = *dantās*

duos = *dāsyati* (It is be specially noted that the formative verbal affix in *s* for the future is the same as Sanskrit *sya*)

duonos = *dhānya*

Such was my first contact with Lithuanian in 1937 at the age of ten.

To this day Sanskrit is associated with Lithuanian as a symbol of national identity. We can go to a classroom at the Vilnius University of the Lithuanian Republic. The professor writes sentences on the blackboard in Lithuanian and Sanskrit:

Lithuanian	Sanskrit	Meaning
<i>kas to esi</i>	<i>kas tvam asi</i>	Who are you?
<i>kas tavo sūnus</i>	<i>kas tava sūnuḥ</i>	Who is your son?

Kas to esi (*kas tvam asi*) is an eternal question before man in his quest for knowledge. The answer is as brief in Lithuanian as it is in Sanskrit: *Tas tu esi tat tvam asi*. The

professor is explaining to his students the marvel of a linguistic discovery in the 19th century: of all the European languages, Lithuanian was found to be the closest to Sanskrit. Lithuanian, the most ancient of European languages, and a living language to this day, is a treasure trove for linguists.

He goes on to point out words that resemble in the two languages:

Lithuanian	Sanskrit
<i>agnis</i>	<i>agniḥ</i>
<i>devas</i>	<i>devaḥ</i>
<i>dumas</i>	<i>dhūmaḥ</i>
<i>padas</i>	<i>pādaḥ</i>
<i>sapnas</i>	<i>svapnaḥ</i>
<i>saka</i>	<i>śākḥā</i>
<i>limpu</i>	<i>limpati</i>
<i>deszine</i>	<i>dakṣiṇa</i>
<i>trise</i>	<i>tr̥ṣu</i>
<i>sūnus</i>	<i>sūnus</i>
<i>jūs 'ye'</i>	<i>yus-mākaṁ</i>
<i>dēvū (gen.pl.)</i>	<i>devānām</i>

The forms of conjugation are also quite close:

Lith. <i>esti</i>	Skt. <i>asti</i>
<i>esi</i>	<i>asi</i>
<i>esmi</i>	<i>asmi</i>

All the seven cases of Sanskrit are found in Lithuanian. In Old Lithuanian of the 16th century, the locative plural was *-su* as in Sanskrit, but the modern locative plural in *-se* is a former illative: i.e., the accusative case extended by means of a postposition.

There are two grammatical genders (masculine and feminine) with some traces of the neuter in the adjective. No article is used with nouns, as in Indian languages. As in declension, there are three numbers in conjugation (dual optional).

Some Lithuanian sentences are close to Sanskrit in the ring of their sounds:

Lithuanian	Sanskrit	Meaning
<i>kada ratai vaziuoja</i>	<i>kadā ratho vahati</i>	When does a cart run?
<i>mote medu duoda</i>	<i>mātā madhu dadāti</i>	The mother gives honey.
<i>sesuo gieda</i>	<i>svasā gāyati</i>	Sister sings.

The Lithuanian scholar Kazimieras Buga, who was the first to start teaching Sanskrit at the Kaunas University, says: "..... Through names of places the earth itself

speaks to us ... We only have to learn to ask and grasp the answer. In distant India and Nepal there are many names of rivers and mountains and of villages which sound familiar to a Lithuanian". Antanas Poska, the renowned anthropologist and traveller, has collected for many years such materials.

Numerals in Lithuanian are as follows:

-----	two	three	four	five
-----	<i>du</i>	<i>tris</i>	<i>keturi</i>	<i>penki</i>
six	seven	eight	nine	ten
<i>šeši</i>	<i>septini</i>	<i>aštuoni</i>	<i>devini</i>	<i>dėsimt</i>

The overwhelming love of the Lithuanians for their language is derived from their history. Their sweet tongue has remained, while their great sustenance, their own religion has been lost in pain and pressure, inspite of the fact that for centuries they preferred to undergo suffering and martyrdom in their own ancestral Indo-European faith rather than accept an alien religion of Christ from German invaders. The Lithuanians were the last of Europeans to whom Christianity was introduced. Although Lithuania was officially Christianized in 1387, the villagers retained the old religion for many more centuries, till the end of the 19th century, since clergymen could not understand the native language while Latin was meaningless to the rural folk.

How Lithuanian culture was crushed. Lithuania's struggle against Germanisation and for the sustenance of their national culture starts from the 12th century. The Pope proclaimed a crusade in 1235, and immediately the German crusaders attacked the Lithuanians in 1236. This resulted in the unity of Lithuanian tribes under king Mindaugas, who inflicted a heavy defeat on the Germans. But Mindaugas could not consolidate a national non-Christian Lithuanian State. He was constantly under attack by the Catholic Germans. The pagan Lithuanians were looked upon as subhuman beings, fit only to be killed or enslaved. Their paganism was the only reason for German and European aggression.

Mindaugas was forced to become a Catholic Christian, along with his nobles, to save his people from annihilation. The Pope granted recognition in 1251 to Mindaugas as king of Lithuania. It resulted in a short-lived respite. In spite, the Germans continued to push through the heart of Lithuania. The Samagite Lithuanians, who were devout in their faith, defeated the combined armies of the German crusaders and other foreign Christians in 1260.

Out of the national struggle for survival emerged King Traidenis as the paramount person in Lithuania in 1270. He ruled until 1282. Traidenis was a great Lithuanian king, purely national and a devout pagan. He consolidated the aspirations of faith and of a free national state.

Daujotas, the great general of King Gediminas a brother-in-law of king Mindaugas, was nicknamed 'the Death of the Christians'. He destroyed 140 Christian church-hamlets. He never lost a battle, and was a great champion of Lithuanian paganism. He was shot dead in 1326 by a Pole for a private grievance.

King Gediminas was a staunch follower of the faith of his ancestors, and he was an enlightened diplomat. He placed the point of view of the followers of the Lithuanian national religion before the Pope in Latin. He refused to accept the suggestion of the Pope to be baptized. He recounted how Lithuanian rulers, like Mindaugas and others had become Christian, but the wrongs inflicted by the Christians continued unabated, and King Mindaugas finally renounced Christianity. The fanatical hatred of the Germans for all Lithuanians whether pagan or Christian, confirmed Gediminas to remain firm in his Indo-European faith. He left a strong and a free Lithuania, the only non-Christian State in Europe in the fourteenth century.

The marriage of Jogaila with Hedwig brought about the union of the kingships of Lithuania and Poland, leading to far-reaching results for Lithuania. Outwardly, the Lithuanians were brought within Christianity in 1387. Polish nobles and adventurers now began to throng in Lithuania. Roman Catholic Christians tried their utmost to remove the old Lithuanian religion from the life of the upper classes. To consolidate the Christian hold over Lithuania, the rights and privileges of the Christianised Lithuanian nobles were established in a series of codified laws in 1387. The masses were not much affected by the foreign religion for centuries.

The national culture of Lithuania ebbed.....

Lithuania had to wait up to the 19th century to find its roots, to discover the deeps of her long anguished soul.

Resurgence in the nineteenth century. The espousal of Greek culture in Europe, from the 15th to the 18th century, was fashionable and passionate. William Jones should also be credited for making his theory public at a time when the European mind was moving away from the neo-classicism of the eighteenth century. This movement is often described as a revolt against the Age of Reason and is known under the general term of Romanticism. The idea that the Europeans migrated from a distant and unknown land

soon fired the imagination of the Romantic mind. The Romantic spirit became identified with the various struggles for national independence.

With the rise of Romanticism, Sanskrit became the roots of Europe, a new enthusiasm, a new faith. The close linguistic connection between Lithuanian and the ancient and perfect Sanskrit was a great encouragement to the oppressed Lithuanian nation in its efforts to find a new vitalisation.

Lithuanian scholars were passionately producing books on their language, including grammars, dictionaries and the first collections of folk songs. When they became conscious of their Indo-European heritage, they began to study their folk literature enshrined in the dainas. Their literary ethos now became national in content and Lithuanian in language.

Writers from Lithuania, described in glowing terms how the culture and wisdom and even the origin of the Lithuanians was from far-away India. This yearning among a section of the cultivated Lithuanians in the 19th-20th centuries was a nostalgia for the golden land of their ancestors in far-away mystic India, the home of Sanskrit and the Vedas which echoed the Lithuanian speech and the dainas. This longing was heightened by the national frustration they had to suffer from the fourteenth century onwards through the crusading aggression of the Germans, the Poles and the Tsarist Russians.

Folklore and national awakening. The rich folklore of Lithuania became a symbol of its national awakening. Basanavicius, the famous collector of folklore and a publicist, is commemorated as the "father of the Lithuanian national movement". The genres most favoured by Lithuanian writers have been the short story and the lyric, with their roots in the folk-tale and the folk-song.

Nationalism, though often crushed, survived in an instinctive feel for their own village ways among the masses of illiterate villagers who loved their traditional songs in their mother tongue and who would find joy and respite from their sufferings in life through song and dance in the traditional way---the only way they knew. From the eighteenth century, through contact with the scholarly mind of the Germans, the Poles and the Russians, the Lithuanians of the upper strata of society began to feel attracted towards their OWN culture.

Lithuanian daina and R̥gvedic dhenā. Though the upper classes had formally accepted Christianity, the general run of people in the villages continued more or less their old life and their old faith. They went on following their old feasts and

festivals in honour of the gods. The course of life of an ancient agricultural community went on along its own lines. The reciters of the ancient poems continued the tradition, and these songs have continued down to our day, although till recently they were neglected by the intellectual classes oriented towards Christianity in the West, and condemned and persecuted by the more ardent Christian priests.

These oral verses are known in Lithuanian as *daina*. The word comes from an Indo-European root meaning 'to think, to remember, to ponder over'. This root is found in Sanskrit as *dhi* and *dhyā*. The word *dhenā* occurs in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'speech reflecting the inner thoughts of man'. Its Avestan equivalent is *daena*, which is a common word in the Gathas, meaning 'inner self of man, teaching, revelation, faith, religion'. It survives in modern Persian as *dīn* 'religion'.

The *daina* contain the noblest expression of the mind and philosophy of the Lithuanians. They constitute their classical poetic literature. Here are expressed their thoughts about the great anonymous Devas, the moon-god and the sun-maiden, the morning and the evening stars, Perkunas the god of thunder, beliefs which transport us back to the days of the Ṛgveda.

Robert Payne, in his foreword to *The Green Linden: Selected Lithuanian Folk-songs* (New York 1964), speaks of the naked lyrical thrust of the *daina*:

"The *dainas* of Lithuania are like those snowfields. They seem to have been sung from time immemorial, and they are still being sung. They owe their survival to their poetic power, and also to the very nature of the country which gave them birth, a country hemmed in by forests, swamps and seas, outside the main highways of European civilization. They represent a form of poetry as ancient as anything on this earth, for they are essentially spells, incantations, offerings to the gods. They seem to have been written at the morning of the world, and the dew is still on them..... This is why, in our desperate age, the *dainas* acquire a supreme importance, for they speak of a time when joy still walked over the earth".

The Lithuanian scholar, Dr. Marija Gimbutas, says: "Yet the shelter of the thatched roof did preserve a unique treasure: the *daina*'s profound antiquity, simplicity, and subtlety, and subtlety unspoiled by the world we know".

Apart from the common Indo-European elements found everywhere, the *daina* have the idea of the Sun-Goddess who was married to the Moon-God. It is reminiscent of goddess *Sūryā* in the Ṛgveda. The epithets and descriptions of the Sun-goddess in the *dainas* remind of the Vedic goddess of the Dawn: *Uṣas*.

Mėnū saulužem vėde pirmam pavasarėlim

The moon married the Sun-goddess Surya in the first spring (of creation).¹

mėnū moon

saulužem *sūryām*

vėde from the root *vadh* 'to marry'

pirmam *prathamam*

pavasarėlim *pravatsaram* 'spring'

Perkunas, the God of Thunder, was a moral arbiter. His name is connected with the Vedic *Parjanya* God of Rain and Thunder.

The Institute for Lithuanian Language and Literature has published a number of volumes on the folk-literature and folk-songs of Lithuania.

"The question naturally arises, why the Lithuanian language, mythology, and *daina* are replete with elements belonging to 'the morning of the world', which many other nations of the Indo-European family have long since lost? The answer seems to lie in the geographic and historic destiny of Lithuania. For millennia the ancestors of the Lithuanians were shielded from strong outside influences. Their homes were not on the cross-roads of migration of the Scythians, Celts and Germanic tribes. Thinly settled in the great expanses of a forested land with many rivers, lakes and swamps full of animals, fish, and birds, mushrooms, nuts, honey and berries, they felt no need to seek better land or pasturs" (Dr. Marija Gimbutas).

The fire in the domestic hearth was never extinguished in Lithuania, like the *gārhapatya* or household fire in India. There were special sanctuaries, as mentioned in the Lithuanian *dainas*, on high hills and on river banks where fire was kept perpetually burning, tended by priests or priestesses appointed by kings.

The fire of the sanctuaries became the eternal fire, the idealised fire whose flame kindled in the *daina*, and kept the Heart of Lithuania alive in the deeps of myth and song, her frozen frontiers pulsating with life. Do the opening words of the *R̥gveda* not pay homage to the Fire: *Agnim یدe purohitam*. The mind finds paradise in fire's movement, its flame shows the marvel of inspired works. The miracle of Lithuania is her language, her *daina*, her eternal fire.

Chronological footholds

- 1235 Pope proclaims crusade against pagan Lithuanians.
- 1236 German crusaders attack Lithuania.
- 1236 Lithuanian tribes unite under King Mindaugas.
- 1250 King Mindaugas compelled to baptise.
- 1251 Pope recognises Mindaugas as King of Lithuania.
- 1260 Samagite Lithuanians defeat the crusaders.
- 1270-82 King Traidenis consolidates the national faith and a free state.
- 1326 King Gediminas leaves a strong Lithuania.
- 1387 Lithuanian court christianised by the King's marriage to a Polish princess.
- 1388 Polish priests and adventurers throng Lithuania and throttle the national culture.
- 14th-18th cent. Dark Age of Lithuanian culture.
- 1795-1918 Occupation by Tsarist Russia.
 - Culture survives in folk-songs in thatched huts and the tales of grandmas by the fireside.
- 19th cent. National Awakening through language and daina songs.

29. INDIA AND AUSTRIA: AN INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE

Speaking at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit on 12 March 1983 our Prime Minister Madame Indira Gandhi said: "Born for the universe, we cannot narrow our loyalties. Belonging to humankind, nothing human can be alien to us". These perennial words crystallise the quintessence of the Dialogue-Congress at Alpbach.

This Congress promises to become a 'now-point' in a new sharing of minds for a balancing of nature and the Human Imperative; lest modern man burn his hands in the fire he has kindled by allowing himself to forget who he is.

Lalleśvarī, the poetess of Kashmir, has spoken of the synchronicity of the rim and axis: "From the outward enter into the most inward part of thy being". The synchronicity of the sublime and the secular is man's hope. Action and wisdom have to evoke the light, leaf and lyricism that lives on in our life.

Austria is the solemn geography of culture, where large is contained in the small. It is a dynamised center for a dialogue. Austrian universities are among the oldest German-speaking universities of Europe: the University of Vienna, for example, was founded in 1365.

Austria's most highly recognized cultural contribution has been in the field of music. The musical life of Austria is glorified by the genius of Haydn, Mozart and Schubert. The Vienna waltzes as well as the Vienna operetta round out the rich traditions of Viennese musical life. Modern music was born in Vienna, and Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton von Webern are among its major creative founders. It is the birthplace of modern 12-tone music.

Austria has radically influenced modern views of human nature, the processes of artistic creation, education, social and political conduct by the comprehensive theory of Sigmund Freud concerning the psychological structure and functioning of the human mind. Through Freud, Austria became the home of transcendental meta-psychology, the dreamland of the unconscious.

Since 1955 Austria has been rapidly developing its natural resources. This factor, combined with a progressive social policy, has caused the resurgence of a new and distinctive Austria. With the symphony of the Contemporary and the Classical, Austria is an appropriate venue for the embodied hope of man to look for a home where he can breathe with the leaves, the water, the birds, the air, cradled in the lullaby of his noble being. In a world threatened by a nuclear holocaust, human warmth is the only solace for his frozen spirit.

India and Europe share a strange sense of cultural continuity across vast expanses of time and space. The similarity of the numerals, the family terms and those tiny insinuating copulative verbs (*is, am, etc.*) in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, English, German and other languages betoken our common linguistic family, which has been designated as: Indo-Germanisch or Indo-European. Germanic languages have preserved several original features, for instance, German *ist* preserves the *t* of Sanskrit *asti*, while it has dropped out in the English *is*.

Beginning in the haze of unknown millenia till historic time India and Europe have continued to share vital parts of each other's heritage. The celebrated European astronomer Laplace has said: "It is India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by ten symbols, each receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value; a profound and important idea which appears so simple to us now that we ignore its true merit". Vaccination and rhinoplasty were introduced from India to Europe in the eighteenth century. India's present overflows with science and technology that arose in Europe.

Atom, the fundamental building block of matter, was originally conceived as a discrete material substance. In the last fifty years, it has suffered decomposition into elementary particles. These in turn have fallen under the spell of complementarity: the atom has turned out to be no more permanent. They are fleeting episodes in the microcosm. Matter is no longer material. The immateriality of the physical world brings the modern scientist ever closer to India's vision. Natural science is in the embrace of the totality of human experience. The method of science courts the meaning of Reality. In the journey of nature we find ourselves

In die schönen Regionen

Wo die reinen Formen wohnen.

The ultimate reality of the atom lies close to the pure dynamic form: the atom now appears to be music, in the system of the Nobel-laureate physicist Heisenberg.

In our own times India and Austria have established a tradition of friendship and respect for each other. Our first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had met your Chancellor, Dr. Bruno Kreisky as early as 1927 at the "Conference against Imperialism" in Brussels and they seemed to have maintained contacts. Austria's interest in close bilateral relations is evident. As early as 1949, an Austrian Legation ---- one of the first after World War II ---- was established in New Delhi. Our late Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru played an important role in 1953 to arrive at an agreement on Austria's State Treaty to restore full independence. Dr. Willibald Pahr, Austria's Foreign Minister

pointed out in his speech on 23 March 1981, at New Delhi: "India's wide-ranging influence on European culture and civilization has a long and lasting tradition. Until these days, indeed, India still exerts spiritual fascination on many Austrian people who like, in steadily increasing numbers, to go to visit the beautiful sites of your country and receive a permanent impression of its millenia-old culture".

Located in the heart of Europe and with its tragic experience of Nazi domination followed by the conflicts of the post-war era, Austria has assumed the position of dynamic and positive neutrality. It is as meaningful in the context of your situation and perception as our policy of Non-Alignment. Both stem from an unflinching commitment to world peace and the inalienable right of mankind to a life free in quality and rich in content. India, the founding member and now the Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement and Austria, a permanently neutral country, despite discrepancies in size and differing development - have much in common and appreciate each other's point of view. In fact, Chancellor Dr. Kreisky attended many Conferences of the Non-Aligned Movement as a guest. Both our countries advocate the ideals of democratic pluralism, observance of human rights, maintenance of peace and avoidance of war which is organised destruction of the harvest of civilisation.

India and Austria have cooperated with each other in various international organizations, particularly in the United Nations. Austria has supported the move to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Austria has also extended her support to the North-South Dialogue and has actively participated in the creation of a New International Economic Order. There are, in India, several living monuments to Indo-Austrian Economic Cooperation, which now extends to projects in third countries as well. Since 1980 the volume of trade has increased and efforts are being made to further diversify our commercial relations.

An intercultural dialogue, like the present one, can explore new avenues on more fundamental levels. The meaning of time as motion and as subjective or social value, the changes in the conceptions of temporal and spatial reality in the history of concepts, and changes in the sciences, have to be investigated in the asymmetry of several traditions of Europe and Asia to provide a new syndrome in the sociopolitical thought of to-morrows.

In the differing foundations of what is right, varied conceptions of justice, rights and law, are reflected the constitutive moments of the self-understanding of society. The hermeneutics of the juridical structures reveals the determinations of men at their roots. Economic and political conditions change and can adjust to legal structures. These

constitutive moments have to be responsive to the history and philosophy of order in various cultures. The meaning and the experience underlying other ways of life can become clear in dialogue, and enrich each other.

The word dialogue is Greek *dia-lógos* or piercing the *logos* to reach the dialogical or trans-logical realm, allowing for the emergence of a catalyst that would break through its regional and civilizational entrapments, freeing it to function in a global matrix.

The East and West are not shredded fragments of continents. The destinies of the East and West are no longer closed systems. In every one of us there is an East and a West. Each person has an East, a horizon he never reaches, a beyond where the sun rises, a dimension of hope. Every human being has a dimension of the West, of maturity, where the sun sets, where values materialise. The East and West can be harmonised in the microcosm of ourselves alone. We are the chasm and we likewise are the bridge.

Far or forgotten, in shadow or in sunlight, Man has to proclaim: "I am the hymn", away from the dust of heaven and the ashes of scientism. Technology and transcendence can form horizons of man's being.

A painter once said: "Give me a branch to sit on and I will sing like a bird". The Alpbach Congress may be that branch, its dialogue that song.

To ponder over a shared and ever-progressive human order of peace and plenitude, I leave you in the cathedrals of silence.

30. HUNGARY: AN ACADEMIC VISION

I am deeply moved by the signal honour conferred by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences by electing me a Member of this august body whose distinguished contributions to knowledge are cherished by all men. Here I stand in gratitude and gratification before my distinguished colleagues who are the heartbeat of their great land of Hungary, a habitable star of the chosen, a people who unite in their euphoric vision the Belaya-Kama basin, the Black Sea, the Don and the Danube. My homage to the great minds of Hungary, the fairyland of my childhood dreams. Here in Hungary, life and land, deeds and valour, savage heart of a lost frontier, the aroma of woods and waters have given over the ages the best they had: "the many-splendoured only-mine" of László Benjámín has become the universal inheritance of humankind. The Magyars, the founders of the Hungarian State, lived around the mouth of the Don river from the 5th to the 9th century in a federation known as the On-gur which literally means the "Ten Arrows", from whose Slavonic pronunciation is derived the name Hungarian. Some Hungarians arrived at the mouth of the Danube in A.D. 889. By 907 they defeated the German forces and firmly established themselves in what was to become Hungary and brought the trackless peripheries under control. The new solitudes became their new embodied hope: the leaves, the birds, the air and every visible space opened up inside their whole being. However, the exuberant remembrances, the silence of lost basins and forlorn steppes, the mummies of memories, the volatile roamings humming across landscapes, made pilgrim-beings of Hungarian minds in quest:

"But where's the image, the vision
that gives them identity?" András Fodor (NHQ 16:79)

From the darkness of these dreams have sprung many discoveries of Hungarian scholars of the 19th century.

The beginning of the 19th century may be summarised in the words of the English poet and critic Eric Mottram: "the experience of chaos prompts the upsurge of reason". It recalls the famous words of András Fodor (NHQ 16:81): "There's no invention more exciting than collective chaos". Bondage and chains, anger and shame of serfdom, turbulence and turmoil for freedom, made Pál Nagy move a motion at the Parliament of 1825 for founding the Hungarian Academy. He bitterly reproached the Magyar nobles for so long neglecting their mother tongue. Count Istvan Széchenyi (1791-1860) set the example by contributing a whole year's income to it. Thus Széchenyi had firmly laid the foundations of the Academy. The Academy had come into being for awakening the

people to their linguistic inheritance which enshrined the identity, the very soul, of the Hungarian people. Here I have an intimate nexus with Academy. My father Prof. Raghu Vira had spent long years of his life to arouse the Indian people to the beauties and riches of their languages. The linguistic enrichment of awakened India was his unswerving dedication. From the age of ten years onward, I always heard my father speak of how the Hungarian Academy had made the Hungarian language a dynamised expression of creativity and an instrument of casting off the stifling tutelage of foreign domination. His loving and enthusiastic recounting of a century-and-a-half of the contributions of the Hungarian Academy have lived on in my consciousness. How delighted am I to be here as one of You, who have carved words of life, images of life, and through their disguise have filled the future with light.

The Hungarian language has passed through several vicissitudes. The earlier unwritten, traditional pre-literature was national in content and Hungarian in language. Only fragrances of its memories remain. Christianisation in A.D.1001 created a new literature: Christian in content and Latin in language. The Hungarian language now languished. To write meant to write in Latin. A major development of Hungarian took place around the turn of the 19th century. In a short span of quarter of a century thousands of new words were introduced in consonance with the structural patterns of the language. The Hungarian Academy, as the conscience of a nation in emergence, became a catalyst: for language is an eternal continuity of a people, it rustles something in their deep being. My father was stimulated and animated by the work of the Academy in the evolution of Hungarian. My father gave to his language around two hundred thousand words. The Hindi word *Samśad* for Parliament, the term *Vidhān Sabhā* for Legislative Assembly, the expression *Nagarpālikā* for Municipal Committee of a city, are all common currency and are my father's gift to his people. The Hungarian experience has inspired us in linguistic creativity as an inseparable concomitant of the struggle for political freedom. We know for sure:

You remained with us, you sweet tongue

When everything was lost in pain and pressure.

As I stand amidst You today, as one of You, my most distinguished colleagues, I know that the subconscious down in the silent geographies of the mind unites me to the Hungarian Academy.

The Renaissance and period of Enlightenment gave rise to academies for the promotion of humanities and natural sciences. They helped foster innovation and international character of science and scholarship. They began as informal gatherings of

famous men. The "invisible college" of London and Oxford had its first meetings in 1645. It was incorporated as the Royal Society in 1662. Likewise, the outstanding intellectuals of Paris like Descartes, Pascal and others had started private meetings. In 1699 they were incorporated as Académie des Sciences. The fame and achievements of these London and Paris academies inspired the 18th century. European States started to found their national academies of sciences. Leibniz led this pan-European movement. As early as 1676 he urged the establishment of an Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna. He prompted the founding of the Berlin Academy, which was formally opened in 1711. During 1708-11 Leibniz wrote plans for a similar academy at St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) for Peter the Great. These Academies became new energised centres for the emerging nations, true to the traditions of their prototype at Athens. The word "academy" is derived from Greek *'akadēmía* originally an olive grove so called after the local hero Akademos. Here was the precinct of Athena with the twelve sacred olives which provided oil for the victors of the Panathenaea. In about 387 B.C., Plato consecrated the area to the Muses and constructed a shrine at which votive statues were dedicated to them. Here he founded his philosophical school. It became the world's first Academy. The word Academy and the advancement of knowledge had become synonymous. For nine hundred years the Academy of Athens held sway over European thought. The Byzantine emperor Justinian I closed the Academy of Plato in A.D. 529, together with other pagan schools and expelled pagan teachers. Classical civilisation and progress of learning came to an end. Till the revival of learning in the 15th century, what was retained of Greek and Latin classics, could not be comprehended in the right spirit. Between the scholars and the Classical texts hung a vapour of misapprehension. The odour of unsanctity clung around those relics of the pagan past. The forces liberated in the Renaissance took a specific bias from contact with the ancient world. These were to become the ideals of life and civilization evolved by modern nations. They indicate the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being, away from the thrall of theological despotism. The peculiar assistance he derived in this effort from Greek and Roman literature was to lean rather to the side of man than of divinity. Greek Revival in the 18th century roused a desire to reappropriate the whole abandoned provinces of mundane energy. Learning was then no mere pursuit of a special and recluse class. It was fashionable and it was passionate, pervading all sections of society with the fervour of romance. It prompted the rise of Academies in Europe and the restoration of the scientific temper, reason and light, after an expatriation of ten centuries.

By this time, Asia had begun to loom in the consciousness of Europe. The German philosopher Leibniz (1646-1716) who was instrumental in establishing the Berlin Academy of Sciences was greatly impressed by China. He worked hard to establish the Berlin Academy with the idea, *inter alia*, of the opening up of China and the interchange of civilizations between Europe and that country. Furthermore, Leibniz added his authority to the theory of the 'Scythian' origin of the peoples and the languages of Europe postulated by Boxhorn. Boxhorn had surmised some sort of a common language which he called 'Scythian', as the mother of Greek, Latin, German and Persian from which 'like dialects would start'. Leibniz further attacked the old Hebraic hypothesis in the first volume of the memoirs of the Berlin Academy. Rousseau (1712-1778) who had inspired the leaders of the French Revolution thought that science and art are destructive of morals. It is to the credit of Voltaire (1694-1778) to restore science to its pedestal. He made an attempt to show in his *Orphelin de la Chine* that this was not so in China throughout its long history of a continuous and well organised state. A cult of China dominated the concept of Asia among Rationalist thinkers. The accent shifted to India with new linguistic discoveries.

On 2 Feb 1786 William Jones (1746-1794) presented a revolutionary paper that contains the often quoted passage which sparked off research that led to the discovery of Indo-European. William Jones should also be credited for making his theory public at a time when the European mind was moving away from the neo-classicism of the eighteenth century. This movement is often described as a revolt against the Age of Reason and is known under the general term of Romanticism. The idea that the Europeans migrated from a distant and unknown land soon fired the imagination of the Romantic mind. It was the Romantic School, headed by the brothers Schlegel, for which Indian literature had a special attraction.

Thus India had suddenly and strongly broken upon the mind and mood of early 19th century Europe. With the discovery of the close affinity of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and modern European languages, University chairs for Sanskrit were established all over Europe. The discovery of Sanskrit was an affirmation of a new paradigm. The Renaissance had been born from the mythical deeps of European time. The word *Europe* itself was born out of the myth of the young princess Europa who was carried away by Zeus disguised. Zeus was worshipped as the master of gods and men throughout the entire Hellenic world. The first mention of Europe is in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* in the 8th cent B.C. The origin of Zeus was unknown to the Greeks themselves. Europe had to wait for 2,300 years to discover India to be able to know the origins of Zeus. Europe

had discovered a new order: renewal and reason became catalysts for this new world. The Hungarian intelligentsia with its rich legacy of Germanic academic traditions was drawn to the new world unfolding itself in German universities. It was natural for a mind as keen as that of Körösi Csoma Sandor that he chose to study at Göttingen from 1815-1818. In 1818 he returned to his native land, fully equipped with linguistic attainments and research methodology. Körösi had imbibed at Göttingen the awakening that fired the intellect of new Man.

I shall not dwell on the epoch-making discoveries of another great Hungarian Sir Aurel Stein who explored unknown contacts and inter-actions of the Indian, Iranian, Turkic, Central Asian and Chinese connections. He traced the path of the Indian campaign of Alexander and walked across the famous Silk Route.

In our own times, outstanding minds like Academician Prof. Louis Ligeti have imparted a new depth to the understanding of the Asian heritage. Academician Ligeti has blazed a brilliant trail of young scholars like G.Kara, Geza Bethlenfalvy, Catherine and Geza Uray, A. Rona-Tas, L.Lorincz, K. Czegledy, Zs. Kakuk, F. Tökei, J. Terjek, Alice Sarközi, T. Ivanyi, A Fodor, Magdalena Tatar, and numerous other disciples and colleagues. The majestic zest and unswerving commitment of the Ligeti School to learning are a source of inspiration to us in the Third World. As I think of the many distinguished Academicians, the dazzling lights of this Assembly, I am aware that they have opened up an earth-bound yet magnificent world whose hymn is Man himself.

The last two hundred years enshrine the brilliant scholarship and substantive resolve of Hungarian academics to explore the immensity of time. India and Hungary have been and will continue to be pilgrim beings in quest of a vision of humaneness, humanism and humanity thrilled with light.

31. ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KOROS

Patina of time imparts a depth to the stillness of statues and to the breath of paintings. So do the last 200 years enshrine a lonely pilgrim, his tattered clothes, his frail body, brilliant scholarship and a firm resolve to discover the origins of his people. His lone companion is a dream: diaphanous in reality, but substantive in spirit. The name of Alexander Csoma de Koros or Korosi Csoma Sandor has cradled for two centuries the unsung embrace of the blue seas of Hungary and the azure skies of India in his unassuming and modest, lowly and lost personality. This Hungarian Alexander the sapiens endures as glorious as the Hellenic Alexander the Great.

What led Korosi on his pilgrimage to India in quest of the origins of his race? It was the mind and mood of early 19th century Europe. The rebirth of pagan antiquity in 15th century Italy was the restoration of the memory and imagination of European man. Renewal and reason became catalysts for a new world order. The Renaissance had been born from the mythical deeps of European time. Europe had to wait for two millenia to know the origins of Zeus, when Sanskrit was discovered by Sir William Jones in the February of 1786 as "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity". Three years later (1789) Jones translated the drama *Śākuntala* by Kālidāsa into English. It awakened the highest degree of enthusiasm of leading poets of Germany like Herder and Goethe. In 1802 the German poet Friedrich Schlegel expected from India "the unfolding of the history of the primeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness": The Indo-European roots of Europe became the new vitality of Europe. The Hungarian intelligentsia with its rich legacy of German academic traditions was drawn to the new world unfolding itself in German universities. It was natural for a mind as keen as that of Korosi that he chose to study at Göttingen from 1815-1818. In 1818 he returned to his native land, fully equipped with linguistic attainments and research methodology. Korosi had imbibed at Göttingen the awakening that fired the intellect of new Man.

Spurning the honours and comforts of professorship at home, he left for the East in the snows of the February of 1819 with a joyful serenity. His quest was a Hungarian identity, a Hungarian consciousness lapsed in time. In the March of 1822 he reached Lahore and found himself far far to the south of his goal Mongolia. In June 1822 he reached Leh, the capital of Ladakh, and again he discovered that access to Mongolia was not possible. Near the frontiers of Kashmir he met Moorcroft who advised him to learn Tibetan for success in his mission. Korosi plunged into the study of this language. This

resulted in his two epoch-making works, the Grammar and Dictionary of Tibetan, which appeared in print in 1831. In the foreword to his grammar he wrote: "To his own nation he felt pride in announcing that the study of Sanskrit would be more satisfactory to it than to any other people in Europe. The Hungarians would find a fund of information from the study of the Sanskrit respecting their origin, manners, customs, and language". From 1834-37 Korosi applied himself to the study of Sanskrit.

Braving intense cold with frugal meals, and sitting at his desk wrapped up in a woollen from head to foot, half-freezing in the heights of the Himalayas, Korosi discovered an unimagined quantum of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibetan rendition lying unknown to the academic world. In 1836 Korosi published his analysis of the Kanjur. Thus he opened up unprecedented panoramas of art and thought, literature and philosophy, grammar and lexicography, medicine and metallurgy, astronomy and alchemy and other branches of learning of India hidden in the Tibetan language. It was the discovery of a new dimension of India's history: her international relations over the centuries. A new vision of history dawned.

During the very years of the presence of Korosi, India was passing through a period of cultural skepticism. Indians were not alive to the new spirit that was awakening in Europe, though in 1784 William Jones had founded the Asiatic Society to spark off researches into the history of India. The imagination of the Romantics was fired by the new discovery that Europeans had migrated from a distant and unknown land. Indian literature had a special attraction for the Romantic School, headed by the brothers Schlegel. Indians stood aloof from this pilgrimage of discovery. For the first time in 1829 Prasanna Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, and three other Indians were admitted to the membership of the Asiatic Society. In this moment of unknowing, were laid the foundations of the Bengal School of India's Cultural Renaissance, which was to blossom a century later, under the inspiration of Rabindranath Tagore and others.

In his famous letter of 11 Dec. 1823 Raja Rammohun Roy had pleaded to the Governor-General Lord Amherst for the demolition of all Classical learning of India. He was unaware of the thrust of new discoveries that were taking place on the European Continent. In this pervading darkness of doubts, the publication of the painstaking and dedicated work of Korosi from Calcutta in the form of three books brought into being new vistas: India emerged for the East what Greece was for the West: the birthplace of philosophical ideas and influences in the art and poetry of Asia, tremendous sway of logic and light, a whole new order of symbols and intuitions, in the millenia of Asia.

To the Hungarian people, Korosi Csoma Sandor is the timeless radiance of their eternal identity. In the words of Istvan Szechenyi: "One poor lonely Hungarian without money and applause but with a firm persistence and enthusiastic patriotism searched for the ancestral home of Hungarian nation, but finally collapsed under the burden of his efforts. Far away from his motherland he rests in eternal sleep but stays alive in the memory of the Hungarian nation".



The statue of Kőrösi Csoma in a University in Tokyo

32. YEATS: QUEST FOR ROOTS

Yeats is the crystalline word-fall of limitless dimension of his native Ireland, the heart of her identity. To him the revealing wavelengths of Celtic realities in evanescent legends and myths are the moon that rises from the other end of the horizon, the rustling breeze that awakens the world from its dream of phantoms. Does the poet not say himself: "I would have Ireland recreate the ancient arts, the arts as they were understood in Judea, in India, in Scandinavia, in Greece and Rome, in every ancient land". Coming from the land of Nowhere, these arts are everywhere, draped in the intimacy of his mind, mingled in the suchness of his land, rustling in his forests, and drawing water from the holy wells and lakes of his attachment. This attachment becomes the launching platform for his inner forces, a propellant towards inward understanding.

Yeats was born in a century which discovered, through Sanskrit, the Celtic identity alongwith the Germanic, the Greek and the Latin, the Slavic and the Armenian. As early as 1831, Prichard compared Celtic with Sanskrit, in his book *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations* published from Oxford. Six years later, Adolphe Pictet (1799-1875) made a direct comparison between Celtic languages and Sanskrit in his *De l'affinité des langues celtiques avec le Sanscrit*, published in 1837. The linguistic affinity between Sanskrit and Irish was obvious, though the two lay at opposite extremes of Indo-European territory. Celtic, archaic in structure and vocabulary, had preserved early features in common with Vedic Sanskrit. While most of Europe had come under the Roman yoke, Ireland remained untouched by Roman influence and the Celtic heritage of Ireland conserved features that resembled those of ancient India. The very name of Ireland derives from Irish *aire* 'freeman' which corresponds to Sanskrit *ārya*. The Irish *Sinnae*, Shannon, is cognate to Sanskrit *Sindhu*. Irish *foramen* is the Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*. Later is the other European language that has preserved this word. In the Ṛgveda rivers are thought of as cows, giving water as cows give milk. The Sanskrit word *go* for cow occurs in the name of the Indian river Godāvārī. The Irish word for cow *Bo* is found in the names of Irish rivers: as in the river Boyle, the river Bo Nemid ('sacred cow') in Ulster. The river Boyne, in its Irish form Boand, corresponds to Sanskrit *go-vinda*, according to late Prof. Myles Dillon, Director of the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin. Thus the 19th century echoed different levels of existence and consciousness wherein India and Ireland shared the elemental and the immense. This was Yeats' "India of romance", to which he reverted every now and then. India was the ancient-most frontier of the Indo-European mind, where mature time still flourished and reverberated in its

subtle interweave of thought, semantics, myth, ritual, philosophy, legend, and art. Alas, India was an enslaved land.

The beginnings of the understanding of India in the foregoing century were a European exercise in self-affirmation, self-exploration and self-questioning. The encounter and interpenetration, assimilation and harmonisation, if any, was conditioned by the self-centered and abstract attitude of the Greeks of antiquity, and the exclusivism and uncompromising message of Christianity. Yet J.G. Herder (1744-1803) pioneered the Romantic movement, and he glorified the Indian "infancy" of mankind. Friedrich Schlegel was critical of the European present of his time, and India became a synonym for pristine religiousness and the lost wholeness of human existence. As early as 1800 he wrote that "we must look for the pinnacle of Romanticism in the East, primarily in India". In 1803 he wrote in a letter to L. Tieck: "Here is the actual source of all languages, all the thoughts and poems of the human spirit; everything, everything without exception comes from India". In 1808 Schlegel converted to Catholicism and relocated "the cradle of mankind" to Biblical Mesopotamia. Hegel (1770-1831), one of the quintessential European thinkers became interested in India as a rigorous critic of the Romantic movement. While he conceded that India, as part of the Orient, as a land of sunrise, could be the "childhood", it did not justify nostalgia which amounted to a contempt of European present. Hegel saw India from the peak of his own time and its phenomenal achievements. The Europeans cannot return to the past, and cannot escape into foreign traditions. In our own times Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) is more outspoken in his assertion of the "complete Europeanization of the earth and of mankind" (*"vollständige Europäisierung der Erde und des Menschen"*), though he concedes that we have to reach "beyond Occident and Orient".

The conflict between the Romantics and the Hegelians led 19th century Europe to several strata of cultural perceptions: (i) the Indo-European world with India's wisdom and Sanskrit, (ii) the European cultural complex centered around the Hellenic ecumene, (iii) the ethno-linguistic entities like the Celts, (iv) the Judeo-Christian paradigm, (v) and the remote Sinocentric Orient. They have rotated in various moments in the imagination of European historians, thinkers and writers as wonderlands of renewing realities and have lured them in their search for identity. The quest for roots has led to doxological interest in one or the other categories of cultural geography. Yeats reflects the eclectic mind of his European ambience. To cite Kathleen Raine "Yeats turned away from the Eastern-oriented world of the Theosophical Society to the Western esoteric tradition as taught by the Order of the Golden Dawn. This course he seriously followed for many

years. At the same time he made the deliberate decision to dedicate his poetic talent to his own country, Ireland". In an essay on 'Ireland and the Arts' Yeats recalls "that art is tribeless, nationless, a blossom gathered in No Man's Land". Yeats is thus a poet of Irish identity in an overall European personality from which he wishes to contrast and distinguish the Irish presence by bringing in other elements. Irish is the most important vehicle of Celtic myth and folklore and Sanskrit culture has relevance by its close association with Irish. In his poem "Mohini Chatterjee" (1928) Yeats recalls the doctrine of rebirth, which he could trace to ancient Irish folklore.

Yeats devoted several years to create a national drama and a native theatre. This theatre of the imagination is his outstanding gift to Ireland. On the commencement of the Irish Literary Theatre in 1899 he wrote: "The theatre began in ritual, and it cannot come into its greatness again without recalling words to their ancient sovereignty". A decade later, in 1908, he said: "But presently I convinced myself that I should never go for the scenery of a poem to any country but my own, and I think that I shall hold to that conviction to the end".

In 1915, Ezra Pound was reworking the versions of Nō dramas by Ernest Fenollosa. Yeats wrote an introduction to these "Certain Noble Plays of Japan". In them he found "a form of drama, distinguished, indirect and symbolic", as they "enable us to pass for a few moments into a deep of the mind that had hitherto been too subtle for our habitation". In the Nō he discovered the framework in which mask, costume, the unchanging stage scenery, music and dance achieved absolute beauty. The mask, so central to the Nō theatre, became central in Yeats' concepts of theatre: "A mask will enable me to substitute for the face of some commonplace player, the fine invention of a sculptor". Yeats had turned away from the European art of the theatre as it had run through full circle, and he felt the time had come "to copy the East and live deliberately". But which East? The East that excited him as being closer to the Irish ethos: "The adventure itself is often the meeting with ghost, god, or goddess at some holy place or much-legended tomb; and god, goddess, or ghost reminds me at times of our own Irish legends and beliefs, which once, it may be, different a little from those of the Shinto worshipper". Like the Irish, Shinto love of nature, appreciation of action, instinctive approach to things evoked the mystery of autonomy and spontaneity in the primitive and brute material itself, shorn of all adornment. Pure and pristine, ancient and noble, obsessively simple and stunningly provocative, the Japanese Nō theatre was in tune with the humanism and Classicism of Celtic culture and its spirit of the six ideals of a noble mind: "Preserving ancient knowledge, truth without addition, peace for all peoples, true

judgement, honouring poets and sages, adoring Great God", as recorded in the Old Irish text of "The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt" dating back to A.D.850. The Irish mind could share the cultural space of Japanese civilisation moving from nature to hands to eyes. The Nō theatre vibrates with primeval and aggressive vitality, achieved with simple liberation of energies. It accords with the passionate, landscape-loving and warlike mind of the Irish: In the Irish saga the hero, Cuchulain, is represented as driving back to Emania from a foray into Connacht with the heads of his enemies hanging from his chariot-rim. The bare austerity of the Nō stage was no different from what Strabo tells us of the Celts: "Their domestic arrangements were rude; they lay on the ground to sleep, sat on couches of straw". Ancestral software became a repository of identity. Moreover, Japan was acceptable as a modern country.

In the East, Japan alone understood modernisation which involved the adoption of technology that is ideologically neutral. It sidetracked westernisation which is convergence towards a Western outlook on life and on the world. Thus, modernisation in Japan came to strengthen her traditions and even became a force to resist westernisation. The leaders of the Meiji restoration preached *wakon yosai* "Japanese spirit and Western technology". Japanese developments since 1856 are a process of modernisation in an anti-Western spirit. Yet, in this national transformation the orgy of foreignism swept every walk of life. National treasures became *passé* in their homeland. The key figure in the heroic struggle to prevent the wholesale destruction of Japan's cultural heritage was Okakura Kakuzo, together with Ernest Fenollosa. The pupils of Okakura called him Tenshin "the Heart of Heaven", a transcendental and lyrical *nom d'artiste*. Fenollosa urged his wealthy friend Mr. Bigelow to buy all of value tossed on a careless market. Okakura was the mind behind the *magnum opus* of Fenollosa *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* published after his death, but his name was not mentioned. During a trip to India in 1902 he met Rabindranath Tagore, who sensed a kindred spirit in him. The Bengal school of Indian Renaissance was born in their conversations. Okakura crystallised these exchanges in *The Ideals of the East*. He started out for the United States to recoup the fortunes of his institute for the arts, the Bijutsu-in. Armed with a letter of introduction, he visited Mrs. Isabella Gardner "the Queen of Boston". As she smiled on him, his path became easier. A small circle of aesthetes and philosophers looked to the Far East for subtleties of thought and artistic refinements. The impressive presence and eloquence of Okakura made him the high priest of this small but *recherché* world in Boston. Once Okakura and his Japanese friends were accosted by a young man during their walk: "what sort of 'nese people are you? Are you Chinese, or Japanese, or

Javanese ?" Okakura retorted: "We are Japanese gentlemen. But what kind of 'key are you? Are you a Yankee, or a donkey, or or a monkey ?" Okakura became his own victim: his role was blacked out.

The technological development of Japan, coupled with her historic victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, and the revelation of the concept of art and nature, and of nature and art blended into a harmony of daily living - this web of the samurai in a modern incarnation made the Nō theatre an inspiration to Yeats. It vibrated in tune with the Irish aspirations of independence. Nō was re-incarnation of the Japanese spirit, the *nihonga*, and as such it was duly qualified to give a new life to the Irish theatre.

The ancient frontiers of Ireland sank their roots in the poetry of Yeats. In this, he was on a pilgrimage to India lost in the romance of time and to Japan in her austere refinement over the ages. These exotic roots, the deep-reaching muscles of mystery, nourished the greening of the Irish mindscape, in the magnificent dramas with dreams and sounds flowing through.

33. NIKOLAI ROERICH

A winged heart, a crystalline mind, a radiant and noble mien is sage-like and sagacious Nikolai Roerich whose metaphor in colour has seduced a whole generation. A flowing current escapes from his creative hands in the glow of his canvasses. He is an epitome of Russia through the ages, which he has brightened and perfumed in elements that are and at the same time are not. In his impassioned prose is the agglomerate of earth and sky, of doings and dreams. For him the vast world is a cosy nest of mankind.

Trampled fantasies take me to a freezing winter of Lahore half a century ago, when my father Prof. Raghu Vira took me to an exposition of Nikolai's paintings that opened on the 16th of December 1940. Nikolai said: "By the sign of beauty the locked gates may be opened". He wanted to dehistoricise the myth of the separation of East and West. His was a festival of rebellion and disorder that saw a continuity of the eternal heritage of humankind, sanctified over and again in singular personalities who were, are and will be ever-coming emanations. A continuous, substantial whole is the transformative power of the present surging into the future. In Nikolai it was the poetic image of his own familial becoming over a millenium, his ambient genealogical idiom. His personal background and racial patrimony, which is as ancient as it is distinguished, made him a natural leader for the realisation of a stupendous mission. On his paternal side the doughty warrior chieftain Rurik of Novgorod founded the first Russian dynasty in the 9th century, and on his maternal side traces of Mongolian ancestry provided him that foundation of heredity which in art as in everything else is so vitally essential. Along with this racial affinity with the East, Nikolai had an intellectual and aesthetic unison with India through beliefs which he shared with the Rishis of this land.

His transcendant perceptions, embodied in genes that were complex in time, made him the expression *par excellence* of trans-civilisational comparison in foci of universal syndromes. Beyond textual erudition and theoretical sophistication, his was an empathy which strengthened the inner dynamics of the cumulative human tradition, longing for an "other" which is none else but its own true self. He was intimate in the immensity of human expression and in the silence of cosmic space. In words of the French poet Jules Vallès: *L'espace m'a toujours rendu silencieux* "Space has always reduced me to silence". He contemplated grandeur in the templum of the Unlimited Man, *Homme illimité*.

Prof. Roerich echoed the saint who gave him his name: St. Nicholas the chosen patron saint of Russia. The miracles of the Saint were a favourite subject for medieval

artists and liturgical plays. Devotion to him extended to all parts of Christendom: 45 chapels were dedicated to him in Rome alone. He was transformed into Santa Claus. His transformation into Father Christmas or Father January took place first in Germany, then in countries where the Reformed churches were in the majority and finally in France, the feast day being put off to the 25th of Dec. or to the New Year. Like Santa Claus Prof. Nikolai the Sage fills the mind with toys and delicacies of global belonging.

Prof. Nikolai Roerich was a leading exponent of the group *Mir Iskusstva* (World of Art) which was founded at the end of the 19th century for the purpose of advancing the depths of art. The work of the *Mir Iskusstva* was characterized by stylization, by idealization of the past, by mystical overtones, and by folk symbolism that hearkened to voices of the soul of the soil. It was influenced by the epoch-making *Ballets Russes* (1908-29). The two shared a taste for highly refined pictorial stylization. In the *Ballets Russes* the set was adapted to the requirements of the ballet, consisting of a large painted backdrop. In the hands of the most interesting painters of the period, the backdrop acquired an extraordinary role. Painters like Nikolai Roerich were refined interpreters of Slavic barbarian iconography in an Occidental style. They created enormous panels in which the clamorous aggressiveness of the color was sharply set in vigorous design.

Prof. Roerich as a scenic designer for Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* is best known for monumental historical sets. His paintings evidence an intense feeling for the epic dimension and mystery of nature, particularly prehistoric nature. His outstanding achievements arose out of the opportunity to create scenic evocations of the past, such the 12th-century Kievan Russia under Prince Igor (Paris 1909) or the legendary Scandinavia of Peer Gynt (Moscow 1912). His paintings in their complex rhythmic space provided color and atmosphere as well as the poetic and emotional space which was transfigured into living space through the functional movements of the actor. Beginning with realistic pictures, his manner evolved under the influence of the Byzantine icon, the technique of ancient Russian frescoes and of Buddhist art towards a purely decorative and monumental style. His work impresses by its epic halo, so poetic, so perennial, that seeks the creation of a world which must belong to all.

The mind of Nikolai Roerich lived in his own country, with his ears against her, feeling the movement of her waters and her shadows, his roots reaching down into the soil of Mother Russia for maternal nourishment. Deracination obstructs the light of the soul. India stands a victim of deracination. The earth, forest, rivers of Russia everything spoke to Prof. Roerich in his native Russian tongue, the subjective deep within. Speaking of Pushkin, he says: "He was the true creator of the Russian literary language. He

has conquered for Russian literature a place of honour in world classics... He imbued Russian literature with the spirit of the people, he magnified the language with innumerable words taken from the very depths of folklore treasury. He introduced real poetical gems of national bards". The India of today sighs at the nowhere of her own languages, their euthanasia.

Prof. Roerich has shown by his monumental life-work that without a ME a miracle is impossible. To use Indian terms, a *camatkāra*, that is a miracle, springs from *ca me ca me* "and mine, and mine". The word *camatkāra* refers to the *camaka* hymn in the Yajurveda, where every substance of life has to echo in me. Me becomes We. In We is enshrined every Me. The deeper the nationalism, the more intense is internationalism. From his slavophilic identity and his Scandinavian phylogenesis, Prof. Roerich was drawn to India for his mysterious roots. Leo Tolstoy the novelist and philosopher was in communion with India. It was an age imbued with India. Linguistic affinity made it natural. Only Slavonic and Baltic languages have the Sanskrit word *dina* for day: Lithuanian and Lettish *diena*, Russian *den*, from the root *div* 'to shine'. The discovery of the Indo-European family of languages fired the imagination of the European mind, as it led them to their romantic roots in the most ancient idiom of Sanskrit, the Alt-indisch of German Indogermanists. Winternitz says: "If we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, if we wish to understand the oldest Indo-European culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved". The Sanskrit *etat* 'this' lives today only in Russian *yetot* which means the same. Prof. Kalyanov of the University of Leningrad told the speaker of this afternoon: *saṁskṛitam vinā bhāratam abhāratam iva* "without Sanskrit India is not India". The two are an integral unity of the Is and the Ought of our land. We can symbolise the mind of Prof. Roerich as a concentric cosmogram: while the inner circle represented the Russian Me, the middle circle consisted of the We: the wider Indo-European identity with its roots deep in India, and the embracing rim was humankind in its dream of a future: all conceived in a concentricity of human unity.

The inner immensity of Prof. Roerich gives meaning to the visible and weds it to vision. What was "as unsubstantial as a dream on a spring night" (to cite the opening lines of the Japanese classic *Heike monogatari*) became a programme of promise in his pilgrimage to India. Here for a couple of decades he was to transmit to posterity reflections, echoes, reciprocities that read behind the meta-mythic structures of a Golden Age. In the shadows of the snow-capped mountains, the tangled forests, the solitude, the

snowy silence of the Himalayan retreat at Naggar he was to roam through a world of an infinite vast, reaffirming peace and harmony.

To Prof. Roerich, India of ancient times and her living present were one. He says: "The frescoes of Ajanta, the powerful Trimurti of Elephanta, and the gigantic stupa in Sarnath, all speak of other ancient times. And this former beauty also glimmers in the fine and slender silhouette of a woman who carries her eternal water—water which feeds the hearth". (*Altai-Himalaya*, p.11)

In moments of cosmic implications he saw in India the cadence of ways deep within: "Oh, Bharata the Beautiful! let me send Thee my heartfelt admiration for all the greatness and inspiration which fill Thy ancient Wisdom, for glorious Cities and Temples, Thy Meadows, Thy Deobans, Thy sacred Rivers and Majestic Himalayas". (A.H. 13)

Four centuries of contacts with Buddhist monasteries in trans-Baikalian Siberia had bewitched the Russian intellectuals by their remote horizons. Buryat Mongols of trans-Baikal were adherents of Tibetan Buddhism which radiated everywhere and filled everything with mysterious presences. His Majesty the Czar of Russia Nicholas II had journeyed to the East in 1890-91 and seen the chapels and monasteries in Buryatia with a galaxy of divine images like the sparkling of the sun on sea waves. They were the embodiment of fundamental force. Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society, who lived 1831-1891, spent some time in Tibet in 1856, and created a mystique of the Mahatmas of Tibet. This idyllic and serene Buryatia, Mongolia, Tibet, and Buddhism shed its blissful light into the depths of the soul of young Nikolai. His Mongolian kinship from the maternal side drew him to the well-springs of Buddhism in its Tibeto-Mongol epiphanies for creative and intuitive reconstruction. It was a space to sink into meditation, Maitreya, and invisible epiphanies.

Buddhism inspired and swayed Nikolai. In the *Altai-Himalaya* (p.20) he spells out: "Two beautiful characterizations of Buddhism:

(i) As a lion unfrightened by noises. As a wind, not to be captured by a net. As a lotus leaf impervious to water. As a rhinoceros treading in solitude.

(ii) The study and manifestation of energy in all its forms. Energy of armament. Energy of application in action. Energy of dissatisfaction giving birth to the eternal striving which brings man into the cosmic rhythm." So said Asaṅga. (A.H. 20).

Prof. Roerich was the moving spirit in the construction of the Buddhist temple at Leningrad. From 1924-1928 he led an expedition to Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet as a "journey in all its fairy-tale of 'fantasy', which colours every peak and every desert

space with unprecedented truth". In this expedition he discovered that the "Kraledvorsky manuscript which was accepted by every one happened to be a forgery, while many genuine documents do not enter into any one's consciousness". (AH. 125). It pertains to the legend of Christ in Kashmir and Ladakh.

During his expedition Prof. Roerich asked: "Lama, tell me of Shambhala" (AH. 77). Shambhala is the kingdom of the future, wherein the Kulika kings will destroy the barbarians, the *mlecchas* or *kla-klo* in Tibetan. It is the domain of Kālacakra, the personification of the inscrutable processes of Time. It appeared as eternity of hope, at a crucial juncture when Buddhism was faced with the dilemma of its existence at the onslaught of Islam in the 8-9th centuries. The Kālacakra is the myth of the Eternal return that directs the thoughts of humankind into an inspiring future from the terror of history, the continuous striving towards transcendence in the future. To Prof. Roerich, Shambhala was the image of the future, the terminal or better: never-ending, state of fulfilment of the historical process. It was the aching nostalgia, an in-eradicable longing for perfection, for immortality, the remarkable interplay of man and time. He has termed it the "Abode of Light". "On the tower is He Himself, Whose light glows in the predestined time. Below is the powerful legion leading victorious battle. The victory of the spirit on the great field of life". (AH. 392).

Prof. Roerich did in 1925 a series of seven paintings of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, in tempera during his expedition to Central Asia. To him Maitreya is the propelling power of the ideal image of the would-be. It is crossing the frontiers of today into the horizons of tomorrows. It is both man's heritage and man's task. The canvasses envision the spiritual overstepping of bounds which is the source of all human creativity. From the deeps of reality, Prof. Roerich ascends to the heights of transcendence. The deeper the valleys, the higher the mountains. In the Heart Sutra of Transcendental Wisdom, the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, form is emptiness and emptiness is form (*rūpam eva śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*). In it mingle the things of the world and of Dharma. The Buddhist canvasses of Prof. Roerich are this telling truth, the living voice of an intercultural encounter, wherein man frees himself from the bonds of space and time to chart the universe of the unseen. In thoughts of tomorrow, man begins to create tomorrow.

A hymn in the Rigveda reads: *sato bandhum asati niravindan/ hṛdi pratiṣyā kavayo maṇiṣā*// "Then the wise, searching within their hearts, perceived that in non-being lay the bond of being". In his sparkling writings and paintings Roerich captures the non-being in being, the voiceless earth, the deep blue skies and the transparent

beyond to become the music of awareness in a dynamic time-flow. His was a vibrant force from eternal Russia. Zuloaga, a visitor to the Roerich Museum in New York, has already said: "In the creative art of Roerich, I see that which I have always felt. Here is evidence that from Russia some force is coming to the world – I cannot measure, I cannot impart what it is – but I realize its approach" (AH. v.). Once again history repeats itself. On the eve of the third millenium, Russia is again in the forefront of a new gospel. In perestroika she asks "can love be seasoned with hate". She questions the primacy of the particles of the State and seeks togetherness to choose a way to partake of world values. The celebration of the 115th birth anniversary of Prof. Roerich in India is a tribute to this emerging world and to our friendship with the people of Pushkin. For long we have been conditioned by the Soviet experiment and our tomorrows will once again be permeated by the liberating constructs of perestroika.

The mind of Russia has conditioned renascence of creative values and I cannot but cite Pasternak who wrote in 1943 (EBr. 19.758):

To dreamer and to midnight wanderer
Moscow is dearer than the whole wide world.
There he's at home, and at the primal source
Of all with which the century shall flower.

How prophetic ! The life and work of Prof. Roerich summons man to the synchronicity of the rim and the axis, of the sublime and the secular, to evoke light and life.

34. INDO-EUROPEAN, SANSKRIT AND BULGARIA

The relationship of India and Bulgaria is one that has never faltered over the millenia, enshrined in an unbroken creativity of linguistic paradigms. Both countries in their millennial vicissitudes have felt their roots reach down into the endless soil of time. They penetrate deep into eight millenia of dynamised dreams, losing themselves in the forgotten corridors of obscure etymologies, finding reciprocities that can be embedded in words alone. Descending in words themselves, they have discovered their roots of limitless dimension. These are the moods and rhythms of a lost age, and the fire and passion that drove those who spoke Sanskrit in their stunning march across immense spaces. It was the *Drang nach Westen*. It was the greatest cultural event that changed the face and the heart of Europe for ever. Sanskrit sank its roots deep in the European ethos. A sustained quest of origins had become a trans-national passion in 19th century Europe. Indo-European is a child of the dream-space and dream-time (*Traum-zeit*) of the European mind. In the most ancient Classicity of Sanskrit they discovered the very Roots of Europe. As recently as 1968 Cyrus H. Gordon (*Forgotten Scripts*, p.133) speaks of the entrenched Aryanism in the mind of Europe: "To be sure, there have been efforts to make out some or all of the A tablets as Greek or to identify them as at least some kind of Indo-European. Greek is an Indo-European language, and even affinities with Hittite would at least keep things in the Indo-European family. (Anything to salvage the Aryanism of the earliest great civilization on Greek soil !) Despite the clear archeological fact that the main ties of Minoan Crete are with Egypt, there is an undercurrent of antagonism to the prospect that the Minoans, who brought high civilization to Europe, may have been of Egyptian or some equally unacceptable "Barbaric" origin."

The understanding of Indo-European (IE) has tended to certain unexpressed but implicit assumptions of the Indo-European people being an ethno-linguistic entity, a monogenous origin of the Indo-European languages with survivals from their substratum languages and borrowings from the economically or politically important groups, the overriding principle of *Drang nach Osten* /Push to the East arising out of the superiority of Europe in science and statesmanship since the 19th century, as William Jones wrote in 1801: "The Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid". The tendencies have continued down to our day and Marija Gimbutas has discarded even the expression Indo-European and replaced it by the term Kurgan (mound or barrow) culture on the basis of linguistic paleontology, comparative ethnology, mythology of Europe and South Russian archaeo-

logy. Her Kurgan hypothesis is a massive model of 'how Europe became European' (JIES. 1973:58). She sidelines Indo-Iranian antiquity as an expansion from the Pontic-Volga steppes.

The analysis of the earliest written documents from Greece shows a linguistic bipolarity: (i) Minoan Linear A texts are Semitic, and (ii) Mycenaean Linear B texts are Greek. Minoan is the language of a conquering elite that ruled Greece, which had its own speech that survives in the substratum lexicon. Various elements that go to make up Classical Greek are:

(i) Substratum vocabulary

(ii) Sanskritisation of the complete grammatical structure and of the basic vocabulary

(iii) Proto-European, which includes vocabulary specific to the environment, like words connoting flora and fauna common to all or most European linguistic groups but not attested in Indo-Iranian.

The substratum vocabulary includes items of material culture (e.g. metal, tin, sword, bath tub, brick), political and social concepts (e.g. king, slave, concubine), heroes of the Greek epic (Odysseus, Achilles, Theseus), Greek divinities (Athena, Hera, Aphrodite), place names (Corinth, Knossos, Samos, Olympus, Mycenae). Sanskritisation is the overall adoption of the basic vocabulary like *matēr* 'mother' besides a complete adoption of the declension and conjugation systems of Sanskrit, like Gk. *didōmi*=Skt. *dadāmi*. Proto-European vocabulary includes plants as the vine, fig, olive, hyacinth, animals like the ass, wild ox, beetle. The three elements of the surviving substrate, the process of Sanskritisation, and the osmosis of Proto-European terminology, constitute the Indo-European syndrome. Anna Morpurgo Davies examined the Greek vocabulary in 1986 and she came to the following conclusions: less than 40% has transparent IE etymology, 8% non-Greek origins, 52% no clear etymology. The various elements of the Greek lexicon have to be defined anew in the threefold classification proposed above. It was around the Early Bronze Age (3000-2000 B.C.) that the Greeks absorbed the intrusion of IE newcomers in a massive linguistic acculturation. The diffusion of the new language with its expressive grammatical inflections and rich lexicon, was a mighty psycho-social phenomenon. The concept of Indo-European is primarily based on language. Several ethnic groups came to speak IE languages over a few thousand years, with varying percentages of conservation of their substratum lexica and loans from Proto-European. This trans-tribal linguistic assimilation constitutes the polygenetic Indo-European. Language and some institutions is the essential unity of shared cultural horizons of all people who came under the spell of IE languages. Indo-European evolved

into the most extensive linguistic constellation of the world, moved by a sense of mission (*kṛṇvanto viśvam āryam*). It was a catalyst of historic proportions that shaped the making of Europe over several millenia. The Hellenic, Romance, Teutonic and Slavic languages are the contemporary European linguistic universe.

Since the last eight millenia linguistic legacy has been uppermost in the mind of speakers of Indo-European languages, much more so in the case of Slavs who sustained Common Slavic well into A.D.400-900. The Bulgarians have sought their prime identity in their language and culture. In the words of the late Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova: "From the pinnacle of its 1300th anniversary the Bulgarian state, the oldest of all existing European state organizations, its foundation dating back to the year 681, is aware of the great responsible mission of Culture – this eternal unbridled strive of everything existing and of the thinking individual toward light". In the ninth century, Cyril declared: "the people are naked without books". In the 19th century, G. Rakovski, the father of Bulgarian awakening, was moved by the close links of Sanskrit and Bulgarian. He derived Sanskrit from Bulgarian and opined that its name comes from Bulg. *samskrit* "the most hidden (secret)". One of the greatest sons of Bulgaria Georgi Dimitrov, defended "the meaning and content of my life" at the Reichstag trial of December 1933. When the Nazis accused his people of barbarism, he said: "A people which lived for 500 years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national identity... such a people is not savage and barbarous".

The earliest attested period of the history of Bulgaria is Thrace. Herodotus of the 5th century B.C., called the 'father of history' has characterised the ancient Thracians as numerous as the Indians: 'The Thracians are the second biggest people after the Indians. Were they ruled by one master and were they unanimous, they could have been, in my opinion, invincible and stronger than all other peoples'. They belong to the Early Bronze Age, i.e. the second quarter of the 3rd millenium B.C. A Thracian inscription from Kabile reads: " I come from the past, I enter the future. The religious and mythological system of symbols and belief in the Sun cult of the Thracians has close parallels in India. The seven-string lyre of Orpheus recalls the flute of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The Dionysiac mysteries founded by Orpheus, a priest of Dionysos, recall the *hallisaka* dances of Kṛṣṇa, which was a *rāsa-goṣṭhī*. Its consists of singing and dancing by one male surrounded by seven to ten female performers. It is a circular dance performed by women under the direction of a man. The Dionysiac mysteries "gave a dominant role to women, and it provided a vent for the irrational passions of the subconscious depths of the psyche." The Orpheic tenets hold that man is "a creature of mixed origin,

containing a divine principle (Dionysos) and an evil one (the Titans)". So also Kṛṣṇa says in the Bhagavad Gītā 9.19: *sad-asac-cāham* "I am both good and evil". Orpheus was killed in a Bacchic orgy. "His head with his lyre, still singing, floated to Lesbos, where an oracle of Orpheus was established." Orpheus was torn to pieces by women possessed by Dionysian frenzy. So also Kṛṣṇa was cursed to death by Gāndhārī. The association of Kṛṣṇa with Yavanas is apparent in his killing of the powerful *asura* Kāla Yavana. Madame Lyudmila Zhivkova spoke at the National Museum, New Delhi: "Here, on Indian land, Thracian art feels more at home than anywhere else outside of Bulgaria. Here one can tangibly feel the parallel, the similarity, and the generic closeness in the symbolic nature of Thracian and Indian art during the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C., the closeness between the symbols, imagery, and ideas in the thinking of Thracians and the people of Bharat, their common belief in the unity of the world, and in the intransient essence of Light." The national anthem of Bulgaria proclaims:

Flows the Danube blue and tame
Over Thrace the sun is shining.

The Thracians had an impressive and powerful kingdom before they fell to the Romans. Known for their bravery and heroism, their very name is cognate to the Sanskrit root *dhṛṣ* 'to be bold or courageous or confident or proud, to dare to attack, to surpass, overpower, overcome'. *Dhṛṣaj* is 'bold, a hero' in the R̥gveda 5.19.5. Derivatives of this verbal root are frequent in the R̥gveda, the earliest existing work in any Indo-European language.

The Slavisation of Bulgaria is a recent phenomenon. The Slavs broke into the Balkans and Greece in the sixth century A.D. The Slavs were inheritors of the legacy of the Veneti, the earliest ethnicon which undoubtedly refers to Slavic tribes in the *Natural History* of Pliny published in 77 A.D. The Veneti is a shift from a social term 'winner, conqueror' to an ethnic denominator. It derives from the root **uen* (Skt. *van*) 'to win, to control, to take over power'. It is parallel to the Sanskrit *kṣatriya*. After such a heroic tradition, it is strange that Slavic languages have *kral* (Bulgarian, Czech), *korol* (Russian), *krol* (Polish) for king, from the name of emperor Charlemagne (742-814). A proper name became the generic term for king (EBr.Ma.16:868). Charlemagne came into conflict with various Slavic peoples and he was known to them as the great king. It is noteworthy that the word for king is IE only in the Indo-Iranian and Romance languages, while Greek (*basileus*), Germanic (*king*), Baltic (*karalius*) and Slavic have terms of their own. Proto-Slavic borrowed a number of important religious terms from Iranian (*bog* 'god'). *Bog* is *bhaga-vān* in Sanskrit. The ancient Iranian dualistic view of the world is

reflected in the binary contrasts in Slavic: *bog'* and *ne-bog'*. The Slavic religious atmosphere was substantially different from that of other Indo-European peoples. Moreover, ancient Slavic civilisation was the most conservative known in Europe. Conservatism had its impact on the course of Christianisation of the Slavs, and the creation of a Slavic liturgy in Old Bulgarian. This is in spite of the fact that *bog* displaced *deivos* (Lithuanian *diēvas*, Skt. *deva*) in Slavic languages. The chief deity was the thunderer *Perun* (Lith. *Perkunas*) or Sanskrit *Parjanya*, who was identified with Svarog 'the god of heaven' (Sanskrit *svarga*). Proto-Slavic had a pattern of seven case forms like Sanskrit. In Bulgarian and Macedonian the noun declension has almost completely disappeared. The dual number is preserved only in the westernmost Slovene and Sorbian. The declension of pronouns has been preserved in all Slavic languages in varying degrees. The Slavs had overrun the whole of Greece by 584 A.D., and occupied major parts of the Balkan peninsula. They were well-known to the Romans. The Goths superimposed themselves on the Slavs. The Slavic regions of Bavaria and Austria were Germanised. The cultural significance of Germanisation is visible in the large number of Germanic loan words common to all Slavic languages. Thus the Slavic lexicon consists of:

- (i) Sanskrit and ProtoEuropean base: mother, house, be
- (ii) Balto-Slavic: head, hand
- (iii) Slavic: human, dog
- (iv) Iranian: spiritual culture (god, sacrifice)
- (v) Germanic: material culture (coin, buy)

The Sanskrit base of Slavic, as typified by the words for 'mother, house and be' recalls the role of woman in the creation of a residence, leading to a settled life and thence the way to civilisation. A house, a home is the gift of woman to human civilisation. As life begins in the ovum, for nine calendar months, she needs a shelter to bring forth life. As the creatrix of life, she as well creates a home for life. With the house, civilisation begins. Were the IE settled?

In 681 A.D. the PraBulgars founded the Bulgarian state when they settled in the north of the Danube delta under their king Esparikh. Esparikh and the variants of this name go back to Sanskrit *Īśvaraka*, a name of Lord *Śiva*, interiorised into Buddhism as the Thousand-armed *Lokeśvara*, and merged with the Four-faced *Harihara*. The PraBulgars were an Altaic tribe influenced by Iranian culture of Central Asia or Serindia which was Buddhist in the main. The speakers of Iranian languages had given the word for god to Slavic (*bog'*) in contrast to Skt. *deva* in the Romance languages (Latin *deus*,

Italian, Spanish *dio*, French *dieu*), *hūta*, from **ghūta* in the Germanic (German *Gott*, English, Dutch *god*, Swedish *gud*, etc). The name of major rivers in eastern Europe are formed from the Iranian word *danu* 'river', whence Don, Dnieper from *danu apara* 'river to the rear', Dniester from *danu nazdya* 'river to the front'. The hydronymic system affords a peep into the march of the Iranians from the East to the West, the thrust of East to the West as evidenced by the Homeric epic, and the symbiosis of the Iranians and Slavs which is clear in the names of rivers and spiritual terminology.

The name of the first PraBulgar king Esparikh goes back to the Sanskrit Īśvaraka. He has four faces of Hari, Hara, Narasimha and Varāha. Narasimha and Varāha are the third and fourth incarnations of Viṣṇu. One destroys the demon king and the other stabilises the earth. The deity represents the rescue of society from chaotic conditions, the extrication of the Earth from demoniacal forces, and the uplifting of the Earth from the state of chaos by Varāha, leading to stabilisation of the kingdom. The name of a Śaka vassal Īsparaka=Īśvaraka who donated a ladle to the Uttarārāma monastery of the Kāśyapīyas at Taxila, is attested by the Taxila Copper Ladle Inscription (Konow 1929:88), dateable to the beginning of the first century A.D. Īsbara of the Kül-Tegin inscription E 33 in Old Turkish and the name of the Pra-Bulgar ruler Esperikh or Īsperikh and similar personal names in Chuvash preserve the Iranian form of Īśvara(ka) (Aalto 1971:31). The Iranised form of Īśvara/Īśvaraka can be seen in Sogdian Vešpara[k]. The Sogdian mural from Panjikent and the Sogdian hymn point to the prevalence of Īśvaraka.

The Central Asian and Chinese forms of Īśvaraka were the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, with a thousand eyes on the palm of each of the thousand hands. The number thousand played a pre-eminent role in the stability of the state. The English word thousand has the base *teu*: *tu* 'great': Sanskrit *tavas* 'strong, energetic, courageous' (from the root *tu*) and *hundred*. It can be seen in Old Norse *thūs-hund*, Old Frankish *thus-chunde*, as the 'great hundred'. Thousand was the power, strength, might, sturdiness, durability, the enduring and lasting attribute of the state. Thus the thousand statues of the Candi Prambanan in Indonesia were erected to sanctify the continuity of power, to vitalise enduring safeguards: *dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*.

While the Slavic languages do not seem to have a specific word for king, the very name of the founder of the Bulgarian state enshrines the extrication of society from chaos and the stabilisation of the state in the thousand-fold might of the king sanctified by his divine status. The parents of Esparikh must have given their princely son this name to inspire him to carve out a glorious niche in history. Esparikh, in spite of the numerical minority of the people who accompanied him, had become the substrate of a totally new

social context: a new nation was born under him. The superstrate of the Slavic population was to dominate within the legacy of the PraBulgars. The PraBulgars must have had poignant memories of thousands of Buddhist sūtras in their *Ur-heimat* in Central Asia. A state firmly founded was in need of scriptures. When the PraBulgars adopted Christianity, it was natural that they see the new scriptures in writing. This inspired the creation of the Cyrillic script. Thus Old Bulgarian was the first Slavic language to be written down and it is a cultural horizon that is of historic importance to IE linguistics and culture and to Indic studies. The common Indian and PraBulgar inheritance can be seen among the Gujars in Chamba (Himachal Pradesh, India) who have retained nomadic house-ornaments, horse-heads on doors and cross-stitch embroideries that are parallel to those that were prevalent in the Balkans.

India and Bulgaria share a common linguistic fabric and sinews of the mind that nourish the spirit of humanism through culture. The establishment of the Lyudmila Zhivkova Chair for Slavic and Finno-Ugrian Studies at the University of Delhi will deepen bilateral relations and enrich knowledge of our striking affinities and the exciting processes of the Indo-Europeanisation of history. This chair becomes crucial in our age of perestroika, the re-structuring of a meta-ideological world, and the emerging neohumanistic consciousness. Culture is the mind's tongue that articulates the visions of a world blooming into the beauty of life.

35. UNTO THE ŚIVA TEMPLE OF INDONESIA

On the cool morning of the 11th of January 1967 my sister Dr. Mrs. Sudarshana Singhal and me stood at Palam. The affection of our father Prof. Dr. RaghuVira rippled through the long expanse of four years, blessing us on a journey to Indonesia to which he had endeared us by the innumerable palmleaf manuscripts, cloth paintings, objets d'art in wood and bone that he had lovingly collected, preserved and introduced to us. This silent convocation of Indonesian culture treasured in the impressive halls of Sarasvati Vihara is an impelling invitation to roam through the Archipelago and to see with our own eyes her splendours, both ancient and modern, which entrance an Indian by their community of Spirit and Form with us. As we flew over the clouds, sensitively hued by the rays of the Sun, it reminded us of the subtly shaded dynamics of the Soul of our ancient forebears who had carried India's cultural spectrum to the isles of Indonesia.

Jakarta: the City of Jaya or Victory. After an overnight stop at Singapore we were winging towards Jakarta, whose long and turbulent history has a nomenclatorial significance for us. In the beginning Jakarta was named Sunda Kelapa and was already an important harbour-town of the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. Then it was seized by the Sultan of Bantam who called it by the significant name of Jayakerta or the 'City of Victory'. It is a perfect word of its own in the rich classical language of Indonesia termed Kawi or the 'tongue of poets', which rhapsodies in the music of Sanskrit words. By a screwy slant of history, at this very time the first Portuguese and Dutch ships arrived, followed by Spanish, British and French ships. All of them tried to gain control of Jayakerta and this led to differences of opinion among them. Fights ensued among the foreigners. The Sultan of Bantam sided with the British, but they were defeated by the Dutch. In revenge the Dutch razed to the ground the capital of the Bantam Sultan and established a new trading-post of their own with a fortress on the shore. The very name of the former city was blotted out and the newly arisen fortress town was baptised 'Batavia' after a tribe of the Netherlands. During the centuries of Dutch domination the name Batavia remained. And when at last sovereignty was formally transferred to Indonesia on 27 December 1949, the ceremony took place in Jakarta and on the very next day, by a special decree, the city 'took back' its former name, now forever abbreviated to Jakarta. Political independence echoed in cultural assertion.

Paradise of Sanskrit words. The roads of Indonesia are a paradise for a 'word-watcher'. On the very first day as we drove with H.E. Shri P.Ratnam the Indian

Ambassador through Jakarta, the signboards of the shops unfurled a wonderland of Sanskrit names which we may hardly dream of in our own metropolis of Delhi. Two firms bore the name of Margabhakti and Tribhakti, reminding of the faith that still finds an affirmative response in the linguistic affluence of Sanskritic culture. During the regime of Sukarno the building of prestigious monuments gave rise to a number of huge construction works which go by the Sanskrit term 'Karya'. As the car sped by sky-kissing buildings. I could crimp out on my diary the names of Adi Karya, Bina Karya, and Wirama Karya. Adi is Sanskrit *adhi* denoting excellence, for an excelling may best be expressed by an Indonesian in exalted language. While in India we may find the name 'Excelsior' the eye can surely never meet the Sanskrit prefix *Adhi*. Bina, the *vinā* of Sarasvatī, and Wirama reminds the culture-loving Indonesian of his great kakawins or *kāvyas* composed by eminent poets of the golden period of his history. Yet a fourth constructional firm bore the poetic name of Kusuma nagara.

Indonesia's alluring charm of Sanskrit words. The Life Insurance Corporation of Indonesia has the name of Jivashraya. A souvenir shop had the name Pentjar arta or Pañca artha where five stands for varied diversity and a number that awakens in the mind of the Indonesian his favourite pañca-Pāṇḍawa, the symbols of his cultural inheritance and the source of his joy perennial. As we rushed by the Press Club of Jakarta, it had the sign Wisma Warta. While warta is 'news', wisma eluded its Sanskrit identification for several days, until at last it revealed its true form as the Sanskrit *veśma* 'chamber'. Another construction company baffled identification by its Nindya Karya. One day as we were driving past it along with Mr. Puja, a former student at the International Academy of Indian Culture and now the head of the Hindu-Buddhist Department of the Ministry of Religion, we could not resist the temptation of asking him its etymology. It turned out to be the Sanskrit *nidrā* which had changed into mellifluous *nindya* by the disappearance of the harsh *r*. How antithetic is the languid and indolent word *nindya* to the brisk activity of construction. As I tried to point out the irony of the name, Mr. Puja's literary sensibilities made him beseech me: "Do you not feel the music of *nindya*, every syllable is so sweet. We Indonesians love the melody of such lovely words. Do you not love it?". The entreating question of Mr. Puja awoke in me the mellifluous kakawins of Rāmāyaṇa, Arjunawiwāha, Bhomakāwya and a host of others, and the spell of their poetic magic held sway over me. Mr. Puja, our historic kinsman in Dharma, now stood a kin in the alluring charm of the poetry of Sanskrit words.

Renaissance of Kawi literature. As these thoughts flit across my mind, the car came to a stop in front of our destination--the bookshop called Gunung Agung. Word by word, Gunung Agung means 'the Great Mountain' and it is the Abode of Śiva, in the lap of an ever-afire volcano of Bali, a flaming counterpart of the snow-capped Mount Kailāsa. As we climbed up the third storey of the bookshop Gunung Agung where serious books could be seen, it was all *Swasewaya*---unaided we had to fumble through the shelves of books to find those that interested us. It was a 'self-service' store. The word invites you, it allures you. We in India have yet to make alive, honour, enrich and admire the subtle sensitivity inherent in our words. Our friend Mr. Puja pointed out the renaissance of classical literature that was taking place in rejuvenated Indonesia. The Śākuntala has been extracted from the Indonesian Mahābhārata and translated into modern Bahasa Indonesia. The Ādiparwa of the Mahābhārata has come out in modern Indonesian. The Bratayuda is Bhāratayuddha or the Mahābhārata in a modern garb. Jayaprana is a poignant lay of ancient fame, couched in a modern expression, a new ballad in 'our' form and begun on a day on which 'soft fell the rain'. Another book was titled Sabda Pandita, picturing Yudhiṣṭhira and Mārkaṇḍeya on its dust-cover.

Grandeur of the epic dimension and diction. Classical Kawi is taught throughout Java the hub of Indonesia's economic, political and cultural life. To teach Kawi the Indonesian scholars have produced a selection called Purwashastra. The bookshop of Gunung Agung had hundreds of copies of this Purwashastra. Another equally popular book 'Suara Vivekananda' or Voice of Vivekananda which was to be seen here, there and everywhere on the shelves--attested to the vogue of Vivekananda in the spiritual life of Indonesia. It was prefaced by President Sukarno: 'Swami Vivekananda! What a name!' A voluminous work of Prof. Yamin attracted our eyes: 'Tata-negara (Tattva-nagara): Majapahit Sapta parwa'. What a title! Sapta Parwa are its seven sections. The word parwa is reminiscent of the Aṣṭādaśa-parwa as the Mahābhārata is known to an Indonesian. Parwa evokes in the Indonesian mind the grandeur of epic dimension and diction. And it is appropriate to the book, for does it not detail the glories of Hindu Majapahit, the last great dynasty of Indonesia, which held sway over dominions bigger than her present-day boundaries and which the modern Islamised Indonesian truly and rightly holds in reverence and adoration as the Golden Age of his story, his own history.

Prophecy of Jayabhaya: return to the glories of the Hindu-Javanese Golden Age. As we were coming out of the bookshop immersed in books, Mr. Puja broke the silence and enthusiastically told us that the owner of the bookshop was formerly a

Muslim. He had become enchanted by the modernity of Hindu philosophy and had embraced Hinduism and was now active in publishing Hindu literature. He was particularly interested in bringing out the Mahābhārata in Bahasa Indonesia--for it is a book over which death has no dominion and it lives forever regaling the child in the wayang shadow-play and deepening into his mind as the years roll by. Mr. Puja continued that the people of Java have a deep-seated belief in the Ramalang Joyoboyo or Prophecy of Jayabhaya which forecast the rule of the Dutch, the Japanese occupation and the internecine civil strife of October 1966. This Prophecy of Joyoboyo has predicted that Joyoboyo would come back and the whole of Java would return to its former glories of Hindu Majapahit. And Mr. Puja went on to say that the process had been set in motion. There were nine million descendants of those undaunted Javanese who had retreated into the remote fastnesses of the forests when they could no longer resist the onslaught of Islam in the 15th-16th centuries and had preserved their traditions and styled themselves as 'Kajaweng' or 'The Javanese', for the purity of Java lived unto them. These ninety lacs of Kajaweng had *returned* to the glories of their ancestral fold of Hinduism. Their word 'kembalih ke Agama Leluhur' means "to return to the Āgama of their Ancestors". Today they are fired with enthusiasm to delve into their long lost Dharma. These Hindus crave for translations of Hindu scriptures like the Bhagavad Gītā. They are in urgent need of a printing press.

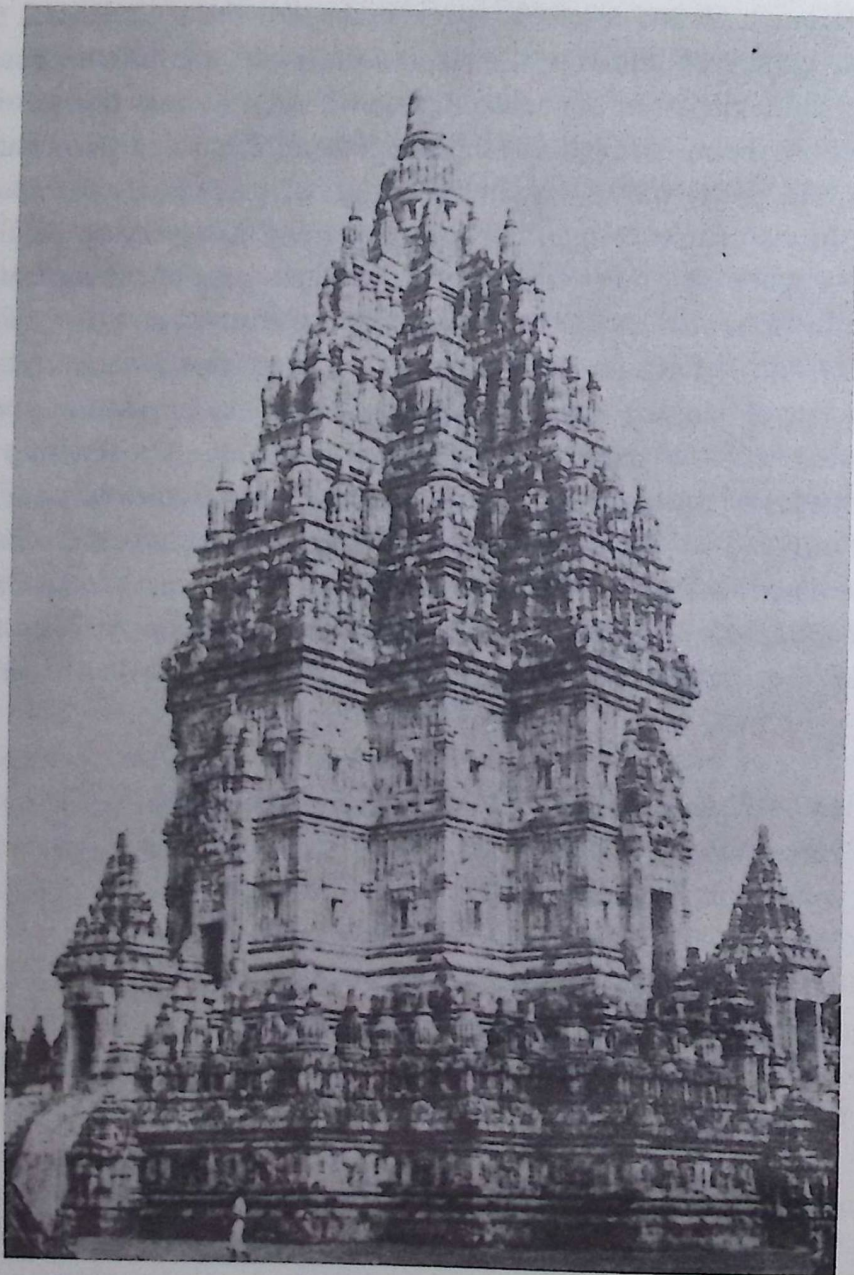
Immensity of the sky-kissing temple of Śiva. Let us fly out of the brick and mortar of Jakarta, away from the speeding fleets of cars, away from the din and turmoil of the metropolitan city, into the smiling fields of Prambanan, into the harmony of man's spirit with the spirit of nature, rising out of her into the immensity of the sky-kissing temple of Śiva. All our way from Yogyakarta it had rained. As we approached the temple complex of Prambanan lavish sunshine of the Indonesian sky greeted us as the central śikhara of the main temple of Śiva held us in its enthralling height of over 140 feet, as if sprung from immortal life, a life that is immense (*prāṇo virāṭ*). The entire complex of Prambanan comprises 16 temples in the inner courtyard and 224 minor temples---a marvellous architectonic composition, reminding you of an unknown master sitting in an ancient morning to weave the trembling melodies of meditation into the permanence of stone. Built at the beginning of the tenth century by a king, it lost its splendour, as the royal residence moved to East Java. After centuries of neglect, the temples collapsed in an earthquake about 1549 A.D. Ever since this marvel has lived in the lyric of legend, recounted by endless generations of simple peasant folk.

Prambanan's Śiva-temple lives in the lyric of legend. The legend goes that Bandung Bondowoso, the son of the sorcerer Damar Moyo (Māyācandra), was engaged by the king of Pengging to kill Ratu Boko, the giant king, who wished to marry his adopted son to the beautiful daughter of the king. Aided by the magic of his father, Bondowoso attacked the giant army and finally killed Ratu Boko, by heaving him bodily into a lake, where he was drowned. As a reward the king of Pengging made Bondowoso his regent in the territories of Ratu Boko. Now Ratu Boko had a pretty daughter named Loro Jonggrān and Bondowoso aspired to her hand. She knew him for the slayer of her father, and fearing to refuse him outright, tried to put him off by imposing an impossible task as the price of her hand. Bondowoso must dig within one day six deep wells in six great buildings, the like of which no mortal eye had ever seen, decorated with a thousand images of the kings and legendary rulers of Prambanan. Bondowoso, the son of the sorcerer, had no difficulty in summoning sufficient gnomes to do the work and towards daybreak the task was almost finished. By a little magic of her own, Loro Jonggrān succeeded in preventing the placing of the thousandth statue, only nine hundred and ninety-nine being present, when the cock crowed and the time was up. Bondowoso was furious with frustration, and lacking one statue of a ruler of Prambanan, he thundered out that the daughter of a ruler would do as well, pronouncing a curse on Loro Jonggrān and changed her into stone. So is the legend about the establishment of the temple complex of Prambanan, which is also called the 'Candi Loro Jonggrān'.

Colossal Prambanan: the marvel of Indonesia. Candi Loro Jonggrān has ever been the pride of the Indonesians who to this very day proclaim that even in this modern time, no nation can match the skill, such as we see at Prambanan. Since 1918 the Archaeological Service of Indonesia has been busy restoring the colossal central temple of Śiva by the system of anastylosis, where each and every stone that is lying fallen near the temple or has been carried away by the village folk has to be collected, photographed and jigsawed into its appropriate placement by a painstaking and thorough study of the joinings, chisel-marks, the depicted legends and stylistic patterns. By December 1953 the reconstruction of the main Śiva-temple was completed ---a marvel of archaeological engineering.

Prambanan---the cosmography of intuition. In the Prambanan complex Hindu-Javanese art reached the culmination of its florescence. In largeness of conception and daring in composition it surpassed all former creations. The 224 peripheral temples reach an imposing height of 45 feet each and represent the 224 universes of the cosmological

system of the Śaiva Siddhānta according to the Bhuvana-kośa. I was able to obtain a palmleaf manuscript of this Bhuvana-kośa from a learned brahmin at Denpasar (Bali). While these peripheral temples may correspond to the Cakravāḍa mountains, the eight temples in the inner court may be the eight pinnacles of the Mānasa mountain. Though a precise interpretation awaits research, it is certain that the temples and sub-temples reflect the cosmography of intuition, the symbolisation of the infinite possibilities of experience lying in the depths of our subconscious whereby we may cross over the world of time and form. Winding through the sub-temples architecturing the manifoldness of the inner world, the visitor moves on into the unity of primordial consciousness symbolised in Śiva in the central temple. It is like a journey along the spiritual path away from the world of space and time to the timeless omnipresence of cosmic consciousness. There we stood in front of the statue of Śiva, towering over us and over the moulds of time and space. In the soft transparency of the twilight of this sanctum sanctorum, we could feel the music of Sanskrit stotras sung centuries ago. As I myself recited a Sanskrit śloka, it resounded back sinking into the deeps of a mysterious wellspring of spiritual strata. The accoustics of the soaring spire, enriched by the melodies of a millenium, has a lyrical way of growing on you. There I stood in the eternal serenity of the statue of Lord Śiva, consubstantiated in Supreme Vision, me and my Śiva alone--- *tadāvaśiṣṭaḥ Śivaḥ kevalo 'ham, Śivaḥ kevalo 'ham*. This Śiva of Prambanan summons you, brothers, to the serene beatitude of ecstasy. Let us go and kindle a lamp unto the sacred shades of this sanctum.



The Śiva temple of Prambanan

36. BOROBUDUR

THE OVERFLOWING OF THE SPIRIT IN ENDLESS RELIEFS

In September 1971 I had the pleasure of being in Indonesia to attend the First International Ramayana Festival and Seminar organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. It was a great occasion and an opportunity to once again pay homage to the several Classical *caṇḍis* of the golden periods of the history of Indonesia. They have enriched the cultural heritage of mankind in general and of the man of Asia in particular. Prominent among these historic monuments is the great Sumeru of Borobudur, the grey silence of endless stone reliefs, enshrining the vision of a king in an ecstasy of form.

As soon as I deplaned at Yogyakarta, I rushed to the Borobudur, situated in the heart of mountains, surrounded by volcanoes, picturesque amidst rice fields, bamboo groves, tall palms and chirping birds. After a drive of 41 kilometres from Yogya, here I was in the presence of a salutation in an imperishable rhythm of stone. I had joined generations of pilgrims in quest of the final meaning of freedom of the spirit overflowing into the bounty of the compassion of the Enlightened One.

The Borobudur goes back to eleven centuries. In about 800 A.D. a king of the Śailendra dynasty immortalised his faith in the Buddha in an unparalleled monument, conceived and concretised by a poet, thinker and architect, named Guṇadharma. Guṇadharma retired into the mountains of Menoreh, his heart rapturous in the hope of transcreating adoration along the path of unending time. Guṇadharma meditated long, read through great Buddhist classics representing the triple time of past, present and future, and conceived of the Borobudur as we know it today. Tradition has it that architect Guṇadharma is integrated into the mountain range of Menoreh where you can see the silhouette of his chin, mouth and nose.

The name of the Borobudur has been an enigma. Scholarly efforts to find its meaning have resulted in diverse interpretations. *bara* is derived from *vihāra* meaning a complex of temples and monasteries, and *buḍur* reminds of the Balinese word *beḍuhur* meaning 'above'. Thus the word signifies a high, eminent or supreme monastic complex. Prof. Casparis explains it as an abbreviation of a compound word which means "the monasteries of the accumulation of virtue in the ten spiritual stages in the meditation of a Bodhisattva". Whatever the origin of the word, it does represent the ten stages in man's ascent from the baser world of lust and passion into the highest realms of Śūnyatā, which are known as *daśa-bhūmi* in Buddhist philosophy.

As we approach the Borobudur, we are in the presence of a replica of the universe which is threefold, namely *kāma-dhātu*, *rūpa-dhātu*, *arūpa-dhātu*, and beyond these three worlds is the *Śūnya*.

Now let us ascend the Borobudur. The lowest base represents the *kāma-dhātu* or the phenomenal world in which we live, the world of baser passions. It has 160 reliefs which depict scenes from the book called *Karma-vibhaṅga* showing the operation of the inscrutable laws of karma. The reliefs show different kinds of noble and wicked actions and their consequences: evil deeds lead to frying-pans in hell, worthless entertainments bring rebirth in some inferior status. Today these reliefs are invisible. They were covered with a wall of stone when the Borobudur was completed to buttress the heavy weight of the entire construction.

From the world of passions or of *kāma*, we ascend to the world of form or *rūpa-dhātu*. It consists of four square galleries, with a chain of large niches, which contain Buddha images, culminating in miniature stupas. The walls of the galleries are decorated with 1600 reliefs portraying stories from Sanskrit manuscripts. These manuscripts are called the *Jātakamālā*, *Lalitavistara* and *Gaṇḍavyūha*. They recount the merits earned by the Buddhas in countless former lives, the life story of the historical Gautama Buddha, and the quest of Sudhana. As befits the *rūpa-dhātu* it is embellished with a variety of designs of *kāla-makara*, foliage, flowers and spiral ornaments. The life of Buddha Śākyamuni, known as the historical founder of the faith, is depicted in the upper series of the galleries. The series below are devoted to the previous lives of the Buddha known as *jātakas* and *avadānas*. Ships on the high seas, a prince and his nymph consort enjoying dance and music, maiden Sujātā offering a bowl of rice-milk to Buddha – all are exquisite specimens of the art of Indonesia in the 8th-9th centuries. The philosophic tones of the monument are also evident in the gateways leading from one terrace to the other. The monster or *kāla-makara* above these entrances seems to devour the visitor who dies and is reborn in a symbolic manner, like the Moon (*śaśī*) which is swallowed by Rāhu and given back. Thus the gateways demonstrate the initiation of the pilgrim into newer and higher stages. The Borobudur is a course of initiation in stone.

In the niches of the four square galleries are the pensive statues of Buddhas seated in *padmāsana*. The stone-reliefs also depict the quest of Sudhana who visits 54 sages and holds discussions with them. The legends of Maitreya and Samantabhadra are sculpted in the third and fourth galleries. They are the Future Buddhas.

Above the four square galleries of the *rūpa-dhātu*, we go up to the higher domain of *arūpa-dhātu* which means the world beyond form. Here the atmosphere is calm, tran-

quil and pure. We are in the realm of mediation. There are three circular terraces in concentric circles around the finial stupa at the top. They contain 72 latticed stupas with Buddha images. The Buddhas are sitting and their hands show the dharma-cakra-mudrā. The latticed stupas are partly visible, partly invisible, to represent the near-highest manifestation of Ultimate Reality. There is a striking difference in this sphere and the previous one. There are no reliefs and no ornamentation. The pilgrim is initiated here into the higher sphere of arūpa where decoration is no longer relevant, and the mysterious chiaroscuro of the Buddhas in the latticed stupas lends a sublimity to the entire atmosphere. The continuous repetition of the same truth is an affirmation of Reality. Repetition is Eternity. While the lower stages are material and massive, the higher ones rise in simplicity of silence.

Beyond the three circular terraces is the finial stupa, bigger than all others. Culminating in the centre, it forms the crown of the whole monument. It is placed on a double lotus. It is firmly closed. Inside is an open space which is empty. It is the *śūnya*, the Absolute, the moment of Silence, the highest expression of Truth in the quest of the pilgrim. While the sādḥaka or pilgrim ascends the Borobudur on to higher terraces he proceeds to higher domains of spiritual life. In a similar way the Buddha gradually manifests himself downwards in order to be approachable to beings. It is the descent of the Divine on this earth.

During centuries of its existence, the Borobudur has been the victim of neglect, time and weathering. After a glorious existence for a century as the spiritual centre of Indonesia, it fell into oblivion as political power shifted to East Java. Volcanic eruptions, vegetation, and ravages of climate played havoc. In time it collapsed and was remembered no more. From 1814 onwards efforts were made to preserve it. A full-scale restoration was completed from 1907-1911 by Dr. van Erp, to prevent decay. Since the last ten years, serious symptoms have become evident. The slanting of the walls has reached about a metre, endangering the very existence of the monument. Rain water flowing through the uncemented blocks of stone has eroded the sculptures. Later the water has condensed and mercilessly split the stone-reliefs. Lichen infections have induced "stone cancer". To avoid the total collapse of the monument and gradual erosion of the sculptures an overall restoration has been undertaken by the Indonesian Government with the active support of the UNESCO. Thorough investigations have revealed causes of decay and their cure. The main destructive agent is "water" which both erodes and undermines. To preserve the monument for posterity the three lower stages are being dismantled. They will be rebuilt on a reinforced concrete foundation with a

proper drainage system. The reliefs are being treated with chemicals. International know-how is being commissioned. Here different nations have pooled their resources to resurrect the Borobudur, where the arid heart of man once found peace and immeasurable love in the hymn "Let Buddha be my refuge".

37. RAMAYANA, THE EPIC OF ASIA

The Government of Indonesia and the Department of Culture of its Ministry of Education, headed by Prof. Mantra, all deserve the highest praise and gratitude of men of culture for providing a forum where the modern man of Asia can evaluate the creative role of the Rāmāyaṇa throughout the ages, and its living unity of values in Asian societies. A literary oeuvre of sweeping majesty it has gathered a certain momentum of its own, manifesting itself in the narrative arts of recitation by storytellers, in declamations (like the *babahasaan* in Indonesia), in the Performing Arts of classical ballet, theatre and shadow-play, or featured in the Plastic Arts of stone sculptures, wood carvings, and paintings; and lastly flourishing in creative writings in prose and poetry. It has been a force, a movement, to translate social patterns, eternity of ideals and to explore realities of human existence, and to bring about better means of integrating *Homo ludens* and *Homo sapiens*, transcending all barriers to enlarge and intensify cultural understanding in our part of the world.

As early as 251 A.D. we find K'ang Seng-hui rendering the jātaḥa form of the Rāmāyaṇa into Chinese, and in 472 A.D. appeared another Chinese translation of the avadāna of Daśaratha from a lost Sanskrit text by Kekaya. A long tradition in narrative and dramatic form created the great episodic cycle of the 16th century classic Chinese novel known as "Monkey" or the Hsi-yü-chi which amalgamated among other elements the extensive travels of Hanumān in quest of Sītā. This motif enriched popular culture and folklore and also contributed to the development of Chinese secular literature.

In the sixth century the Srilankan poet-king Kumāradāsa, identified with Kumāradhātusena (who reigned during 517-526 A.D.) composed the Jānakī-haraṇa, the earliest Sanskrit work of Srilanka. Its verbatim Sinhalese paraphrase was done in the 12th century by an anonymous writer. It has been eulogised in several Sinhalese works. In our times, the Sinhalese translation of the Rāmāyaṇa by C. Don Bastean has been a decisive influence on the Sinhalese novel. Modern dramatists like John de Silva, an outstanding playwright, have adapted the Rāmāyaṇa. The popular appeal in Srilanka has been the ideals of the Rāmāyaṇa in general, and particularly the virtues of Sītā have ever been extolled, as in Indonesia.

In seventh century Cambodia, Khmer citations attest that the Rāmāyaṇa had become a major and favourite epic. Its episodes symbolised great historic events in sculptured monuments. That the Khmers had been impregnated with the Rāmāyaṇa is evident from the fact that a name or a scene were sufficient to characterise a historic episode or

to endow a socio-ethical problem with moral authority and special emotion. The depiction of the victorious exploits of Jayavarman VII against the Chams, on the exterior gallery of the Bayon, often follow the plot of the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Khmer king was a new Rāma to crush the new Rāvaṇa, the king of Chams. Since Jayavaraman VII the Rāmāyaṇa became an integral part of Khmer life, played at feasts, figured on frescos, told by storytellers. It is in fact the loveliest poetic expression of the soul of the Khmer people. A fact that merits particular attention is that the text followed at Angkor is close to that of Java than to Vālmiki. A historic destiny that Indonesia should again come forth to organise the First International Rāmāyaṇa Festival, "to promote closer cooperation, harmony and peace....., to create a favourable atmosphere for mutual understanding and friendship", as expressed by His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Noer, the Governor of East Java.

In the ninth century (according to the inscriptional evidence as interpreted by De Casparis) the Rāmāyaṇa was sculpted on Prambanan's Candi Loro Jonggrān, 'the Temple of the Slender Maiden'. These differ from the Classical Indonesian epic Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, which means that the Rāmāyaṇa was prevalent in Indonesia in several versions. The Rāmāyaṇa reliefs at Panataran display the predominance of local style. The entire story is not shown but only those scenes in which Hanumān and his simian army play a role. It points to the crystallisation of particular Rāmāyaṇa scenes as prominent among the repertoire of the performing arts.

In about the end of the ninth century we even find an East Iranian version of the Rāmāyaṇa in Khotanese, an Iranian dialect prevalent in Khotan in Central Asia.

Since the 18th century the Rāmāyaṇa became a dominant element in the Performing Arts of the countries of South-East Asia. In Laos Phra Chao Anurut (King Aniruddha) constructed the Vat Mai 'New Pagoda' over the Vat Si Phum. On its pylon are carved episodes from the epic. Of about the same period is the Vat Pa Ké with the most complete paintings of the Rāmāyaṇa in Laos. Needless to mention, that the Rāmāyaṇa plays a premier role in the Laos ballet. The Natya Sala or Ballet School at Vientianne teaches it regularly with its appropriate music and dance. "When Princess Dala (Tārā), daughter of King Savang Vatthana was married, the Rāmāyaṇa was danced in full regalia and splendour at the Royal Court of Luang Prabang" (Mrs. Kamala Ratnam). His Majesty the present King of Laos is composing a new Rāmāyaṇa in the Laotian language with an elaborate choreography. A complete manuscript of the Laotian Rāmāyaṇa is known in 40 bundles of 20 leaves each at Vat Pra Keo, and another manuscript at Vat Sisaket. Mr. P. B. Lafont has published summaries of the P'a Lak P'a Lam

(Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma) and the other P'ommachak (Sanskrit Brahmacakra). In spite of the fact that the Rāmāyaṇa occupies a pre-eminent place in Laos culture, its performances have not been recorded on celluloid.

The Ramakien or Rāmakīrti is known to Thai choreography as Masked Play or Khōn, as the Nang or Shadow Play and as literary compositions emanating from the Thai monarchs themselves. The only complete version is of King Rāma I, and the most representable on the stage is that of Rāma II. The Silpakon or Royal Fine Arts Department, Bangkok adapts these versions to suit the occasion or the performers, but the sung portions follow the aforesaid two versions. The version of King Rāma VI is the best known, and for it the King used the classical Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki as authority. Thai scholars, like H.H. Prince Dhaninivat, derive their Ramakien "from the Indonesian version no doubt prevailing in the epoch of the Śrīvijaya Empire". The Nang or Shadow Play with 'hide-figures' is mentioned in the Palatine Law of King Boromatrailokanath enacted in 1458. The Nang reached the valley of Menam Chaophyā via the Malay Peninsula from Indonesia.

The Malaysian Hikayat Seri Rama (1400-1500) has been a basis for the repertoire of Malay shadow-plays: the Wayang Siam and Wayang Jawa. In spite of the marked toponymic nomenclature both have assumed distinct Malay forms. The similarity of technique indicates its Indonesian origin, which is conclusively proved by the use of Indonesian technical terms like *kelir*, *panggung*, *wayang* and *dalang*. The popularity of the Rāma saga in Malaysia is attested by a variety of local literary versions. The Malaysian dalang may perform two to three hundred shows a year, but they are not mere entertainment. The performances are preceded by a ritual, offerings are made and invocations directed to ensure harmony. It is an urge, an *angin* (prāṇa, lit. 'wind') to perform, a "susceptibility to be moved greatly by the rhythm of the orchestra and a capability of identifying oneself completely with the characters of the drama, causing one experience intense emotions. If an individual does not continue his *angin* he may lapse into a trance, a state of autohypnosis." (Amin Sweeney, London).

Burma too has known the Rāmāyaṇa since early centuries of the modern era. King Kyanzittha (1084-1112) styled himself a descendant of Rāma. But, the performance of the Yama-pwe (Yama=Rāma) was introduced into Burma in 1767 from Thailand after the Burmese conquest of Thailand. The performance of the Yama-pwe used to continue upto twentyone nights, but these days it is a series of performances extending upto twelve nights.

The story of Rāma spread into the northernmost lands of Asia, via Tibet where it is found in two versions in manuscripts of the 7-9th centuries from the grottoes of Tun-huang, in an early 15th century poetical version of Zhang-zhung-pa Chowang-drakpaipal, in the now-lost translation of Tāranātha, and in several versions scattered in commentaries on works on poetics and didactics, like the Kāvyaadarśa and Subhāṣitaratna-nidhi. From Tibet, the Rāmāyaṇa reached Mongolia and thence spread far to the West, to the banks of Volga. A folk version in Kalmuk language from the banks of Volga, is known from the manuscript of Prof. C.F. Golstunsky, now preserved at the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Prof. Damdin-Suren of Ulanbator (Mongolia) has worked at Leningrad on the Mongolian Rāmāyaṇa in its literary and folk forms.

Born as a *primaeval* poem, the *ādikāvya* in Vālmiki's metrical measure welling forth in all spontaneity at the grievous sight of the death of a love-lorn avian couple shot by a hunter, the Rāmāyaṇa has become the lyric of the men of Asia from Siberia to Indonesia, filling their unbounded Self with ecstasy, with an ocean of bliss.

As indicated above, Indonesia has been instrumental in developing the Rāmāyaṇa as a major element in the Performing Arts and it is but moot that she should once again be the doyen in this domain. To understand the Rāmāyaṇa in its various geographic expressions and artistic versions, it is essential to constitute an international organisation which would record the existing forms, evaluate them, develop them, publish their conspicuously important facts and facets, and promote cross-cultural exchanges. To this end the Seminar of the International Rāmāyaṇa Festival should undertake an effectively comprehensive program like the following:

1. To constitute an International Rāmāyaṇa Committee with two or more representatives from each of the fifteen Rāmāyaṇa countries, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Srilanka, India, Nepal, Fiji, Mauritius, Trinidad, Surinam, Guyana, and Japan. These countries have a living cultural tradition of the Rāmāyaṇa. Besides these countries, scholars elsewhere are also engaged in Rāmāyaṇa studies, who would be co-opted as observer members.

2. The headquarters of the International Rāmāyaṇa Committee would be located in the host country at Jakarta which has striven to organise the First International Rāmāyaṇa Festival.

3. The International Rāmāyaṇa Committee would start with the publication of all the papers and seminar reports in the form of a volume. Its long-term objective would

be to collect, record and whenever possible to publish the different variations of the Rāmāyaṇa in the following framework :

- (i) Written forms:
 - (a) Prose
 - (b) Verse (published as well as unpublished manuscript texts)
- (ii) Featured forms in Art:
 - (a) Sculptures in stone (statues and bas-reliefs on monuments)
 - (b) Wood-carvings
 - (c) Paintings in palaces, pagodas, monasteries, on cloth and other media.
- (iii) Narrative or Recitative forms:
 - (a) Community singing or recitations
 - (b) Public discourses and discussions (such as the *babahasaan* in Bali)
 - (c) The folk versions of the storytellers.
 - (d) Declamations accompanying a play or dance to impart meaning to the story or piece. This form always finds new life in continuous innovations in direct communication with the masses. It has been a vivid expression of the coordination of poetry, music, mimic, dance, choreography, and startling vocabulary.
- (iv) Performing Arts:
 - (a) Classical Dance forms with their kaleidoscopic abundance of historic and regional styles.
 - (b) Theatrical forms:

Masked-play performances (like the Thai Khōn).

Shadow-play (Wayang of Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, etc.).

While the Classical dance form is crystallised, deep and symbolic, the shadow-play is a synthesis of art and magic, the masked theatre may possess a ritual value like the Khol Ramker of Cambodia which exorcises nature to get rain.
 - (c) Comparative study of the masks, mudrās, dresses, puppets, musical instruments resulting from historical and geographical variations.
- (v) Rāmāyaṇa as a system of cultural values and its role in the modern world.

Mrs. Setti Sundari Yamin, the founder of Kararawitan or the Cultural Academy at Jakarta, once spoke to me of the inherent potentialities of the Wayang to provide avenues for the youth and to create a sense of discipline in them.

To achieve the above it would be essential to undertake the following:

1. Collection of manuscripts lying scattered all over Asia and to tape-record the oral folk versions recited or sung by the traditional presenters, which will bring out the potentialities of the dynamics of fluid texts which are constantly undergoing change. These extend as far as Mongolia and Siberia.

2. Translations of Classical versions of Indonesia (the Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin), Thai Ramakien, Cambodian Ramaker, Nepalese Bhanubhakta ko Rāmāyaṇa, the Siberian-Mongolian Rāmāyaṇa and others, so that the totality of the classical base of the Rāmāyaṇa can become a catalyst in cross-cultural interflow.

3. Pictorial albums of Rāmāyaṇa representation in the Plastic Arts, in time and space. These albums would be on two levels: (i) photographic survey for a faithful record, and (ii) photographing in an aesthetic thrust to evoke a creative response. Creative photographic albums, either on a regional basis or theme-wise, would be an effective dimension of dissemination.

4. Comparative studies of artistic variation of the same theme in all its performed, written, featured, and narrated forms. It could be either exhaustive or selective in its stimulating and provocative accent.

5. Creating an International Troupe comprising ballet and other dance forms of the Rāmāyaṇa from different countries.

6. Films and television to disseminate the performed versions.

7. To issue Rāmāyaṇa stamps which would be of great interest to the philatelic world.

8. Triennial International Rāmāyaṇa Seminars in different countries. Its next session can be held in India on the occasion of the Mānasa Chatuh-shati or the Quadri-centenary Celebrations of the Rām-charit-mānas of Tulasidas in early 1974.

In this century we have replaced political colonial orders, that is severed our dependence on foreign rulers. Now our rhythms are at a loss, and we seek a new independence, a new *forma mentis*. Let us be pilgrim beings in our ideas, walking together in the shadow of a common aim, for life and thought are ever in the making.

INTERNATIONAL RAMAYANA FESTIVAL IN INDONESIA

In September 1971, Indonesia made history by convening the "First International Ramayana Festival" at Pandaan in East Java. The tiny village of Pandaan which had hibernated for centuries in the glory of the Majapahit empire awoke again to bring about a cultural encounter between the countries of South East Asia. In this village was constructed a special amphitheatre by the Government of Indonesia for the great cultural happening. It was rightly named the Taman Chandra Wilwatikta, that is, "the Glowing Garden of Wilwatikta". Wilwatikta is the Classical Kawi designation of the Majapahit dynasty which represents the golden epoch of Indonesia's history: the culmination of the extension of her dominions and of the finest flowering of her culture. The amphitheatre had a colossal stage where a cast of upto three hundred artists could perform with ease.

The backdrop for the stage was the majestic Penanggungan, which is the Holy Mountain to the East Javanese to this day, studded with 81 sanctuaries along its slopes. According to the Ancient Indonesian text Tantu Paṅgĕlaran, it is Mount Meru itself in Java, with eight pinnacles. The shape of the Mountain is peculiar: its peak is surrounded by four minor tops at a lower level and again by four more nearer the foot. According to the Indonesian text Mount Sumeru was transported from India to Java by the Gods. On the way, the Gods had a packing problem, parts broke off during the voyage, and finally only the top of Sumeru reached Java, which is the present Mount Penanggungan. The Sumeru is the container of amṛta, and likewise the waters from Penanggungan are an elixir of immortality. The tenth century basin of Jalatuṇḍa on the Penanggungan Mountain spreads its life-giving waters over the surrounding country and paddy-fields. It is also the place where may rest the mortal remains of Udayana one of the greatest kings of Indonesia whom the Javanese legends compare with Udayana the last of the Pāṇḍavas.

The above digression is to give an idea of the cultural significance of the surroundings in which the Ramayana Festival and Seminar were held. The President of Indonesia, H.E. General Soeharto took all the trouble of coming from Jakarta to Pandaan for the inauguration. His Excellency Mr. Mohammad Noer, the Governor of East Java, was always present to supervise the arrangements in person. He felt specially honoured that such a historic conference, aided by the UNESCO, was being held in East Java, the epicentre of Indonesia's culture, especially of its graceful style of the Ramayana ballet, the loveliest expression of the soul of East Java.

The postal department of Indonesia honoured the distinguished gathering of scholars and artists from all parts of the globe, by issuing two lovely postal stamps

depicting a scene from the Rāmāyaṇa where Rāma slays the demoniacal Mārīca who appears in the guise of a golden deer. They reveal a powerful style which is typically Indonesian.

The Ramayana festival lasted from 31st August till mid-September. Besides the host country Indonesia, there were delegations from Burma, Srilanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Unesco and India. The Indian delegation comprised five scholars and two performing troupes namely the Rangashri Little Ballet Troupe and the P.S.V. Natya Sangam. While the Rangashri troupe represented the ballet idiom based on the Chhau dances of Eastern India, the Sangam troupe brought out the rich Kathakali style as prevalent in the southern tip of Bharata. Side by side with the spirit of innovation, the rich experience of the folk and classical styles of India were subtly presented by the Indian troupes to the vast audiences at Pandaan. The Javanese audiences accustomed to the courtly grace of their performances, were moved by the newness, pliability, and the august rendition by Indian troupes of the theme well-known to them. The Rangashri troupe performed Ramayana episodes in the "marionette style" perfected by them over the years. Indonesian friends were at once taken over by the innovative potentialities of this style as a constructive instrument of conveying cultural values to the youngest generation of school-children.

Indonesia contributed performances of the Ramayana in divergent styles of West Java, Yogyakarta, Solo and Bali each with its classical characteristics. While the major performances took place in the natural charm and cool air of Mount Penanggungan, the teams also performed at Prambanan with the famous Śiva temple of Loro Jonggrān in the background. Denpasar, the capital of Pulau Dewata or Paradise Island of Bali was another venue. Finally, all converged to Jakarta for the grand finale, at the famous art centre of Taman Ismail Marzuki. The performing troupes from Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and India gave a panoramic view of an identical theme in multiple idioms.

Besides the Festival, scholars from the various South East Asian countries which have a tradition of the Rāmāyaṇa, as well as Japan, Europe and the United States deliberated in two seminars on the dissemination of knowledge on South East Asian traditional art and culture through mass media, and secondly on the art of performing the Ramayana epic. His Excellency Mr. Mushuri, the Minister of Education and Culture said, "In our efforts to preserve our own artistic and cultural properties and promote cultural co-operation among South East Asian nations we become increasingly aware of our very limited knowledge of each other's culture. We are anxious to build a stronger base for

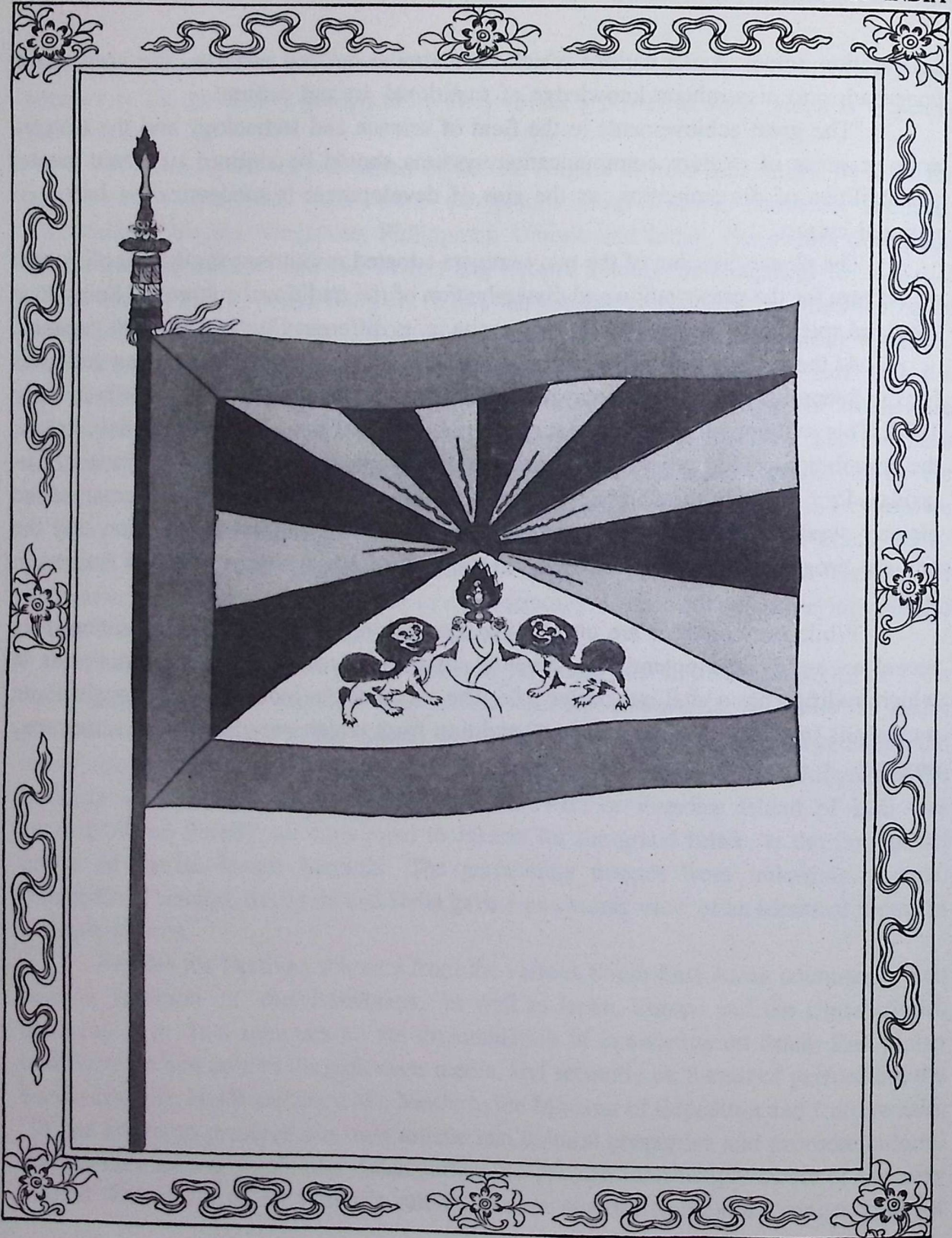
cooperation among Asian nations which have similar cultural patterns. We need closer cooperation to disseminate knowledge of traditional art and culture.

"The great achievements in the field of science and technology and the tremendous progress of modern communication systems should be utilized to create greater possibilities of dissemination, as the aim of development is modernization based on national culture".

The plenary session of the two seminars adopted resolutions for the establishment of a centre for the preservation and dissemination of the traditional cultures of South East Asia and specifically to develop the Ramayana in its different Classical and folk versions.

At the plenary session we extended an invitation to all the participating countries for the Second International Ramayana Festival and Seminar to be held in India in early 1973. This will coincide with the national celebrations of the Manasa Catuṣ-śatī, that is, the completion of 400 years of the writing of the Hindi version of the Ramayana by Tulasidas. Prof. Mantra, the Director-General of Culture in Indonesia and Chairman of the plenary session, warmly welcomed the idea and expressed great satisfaction that the cultural program initiated by Indonesia in the land of Majapahit, would find fruition in India.

While our countries are undergoing far-reaching changes of modernisation, they reveal an agility and potential to develop creatively through multilinear processes in which tradition has a vital integrative role. The encounter in Indonesia has brought about a catalysis in opening up the riches of tradition from which new forms and values may emerge.



^२ བོད་ལྗོངས་གྲུ་ལ་ཁབ་རིན་པོ་འེ་གྲུ་ལ་ཟླ་།

༄༅། །སྤྱི་ཞིའི་པན་བདེའི་འདད་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་བའི་གཏོར། །ཐུབ་བསྟན་བསམ་འཕེལ་ནོར་
བུའི་འོད་སྤང་འབར། །བསྟན་འགྲོའི་ནོར་འཛིན་གྱི་ཆེར་སྦྱང་བའི་མགོན། །འཕྱིན་ལས་ཀྱི་རིལ་
པའོ་རྒྱས། །དོ་རྩའི་ཁམས་སུ་བདུན་བས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱན་བུམས་བཅེས་སྦྱངས། །གནམ་བསྐོས་
དགའ་བ་བརྒྱ་ལྷན་དབྱ་འཕང་དགུང་ལ་རེག །སུན་ཆོགས་སྡེ་བཞིའི་མངའ་བྱང་རྒྱས། །བོད་
ལྗངས་ཆོལ་ཁ་གསུམ་གྱི་བྱོན་ལ་བདེ་སྦྱིད་རྩོགས་ལྷན་གསར་བས་བྱབ། །ཆོས་སྤྱི་གྱི་དབལ་ཡོན་
དར། །ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་རྒྱས་བས་འཛམ་གླིང་ཡངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་གྱི་ཞི་བདེའི་དབལ་ལ་སྦྱར། །
བོད་ལྗངས་བསྟན་འགྲོའི་དགོ་མཆོན་ཉི་འོད་གྱི། །བུ་ཤིས་འོད་སྤང་འབྲུམ་དུ་འཕྲོ་བའི་གཟིས། །
ནག་ཕྱོགས་སུན་པའི་གཡུལ་ལས་རྒྱལ་གྱུར་ཅིག །

༢༣ ། གངས་ལྗོངས་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་དར་ཆའི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཤད་འགོད་པ་ལ །

- ༡) ཁ་བའི་རྩལ་བརྟེན་གྱི་ཀེ་ལ་ཤ་ནི། གངས་རིས་བསྐྱོར་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་དང་ །
- ༢) གཡུ་རལ་མཆེ་སྟེར་བའི་མི་འཛིན་གས་གདོང་ལྷ་ནམ་པར་བསྐྱེངས་བ་ཆ་ནི། ཆོས་སྤྱོད་ལུགས་གཉིས་
ཟུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད །
- ༣) ལག་ན་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་དབང་འབྱེད་ཐོགས་པ་ནི། སན་བདེ་འཛིན་མེད་ཀྱི་གདོར་མཛོད་རྩ་ཆོས་དག་
བ་བཅུ་དང་མི་ཆོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་སྟོང་པོར་གྱུར་པའི་ལས་འབྲས་ལྷ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྤྱོད་སྟོང་བ །
- ༤) གོང་ན་ནོར་བུ་མེ་འབར་འོད་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་འཛོར་བ་ནི། མཆོག་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཉར་བཞིས་མངོན་པར་མཛོས་
པའི་སྐྱབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་རིན་པོ་ལྷ་མ་གསུམ་སྤྱི་གཙུག་དུ་བཀྱར་བ །
- ༥) དར་ལྗེ་དམར་སྟོང་གཉིས་སུ་ངོས་པ་ནི། རིང་ནས་འགོ་བའི་ཆོས་སྤྱང་དམར་ནག་ཟུང་གི་འཕྲིན་ལས་གཡོ་
བ་མེད་བ །
- ༦) ལྷ་གངས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་ཆ་བའི་མི་རིགས་མིའུ་གདུང་དྲུག་ལས་བྱེས་པའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མོ་
བཅུ་གཉིས་སུ་ངོས་པ །
- ༧) ཉི་མ་ཤར་བའི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཁབ་པ་ནི། སྤྱི་འགོ་ནམས་རང་དབང་བདེ་སྤྱོད་དབལ་གྱིས་སྟོང་བ །
- ༨) གོས་བཟང་སེར་པོའི་སྐྱ་བྱ་དུ་ནི། གསེར་མདོག་ཅོད་བཅ་འཆང་བའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱན་དུ་སྟེལ་བ །
- ༩) དར་མཆོན་སྤྲ་ལའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་ནི། གནས་བསྐྱོས་དབང་བ་བརྟེན་པའི་ཆབ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོགས་ཀྱན་ལས་ནམ་
པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་མཆན་ཇེ་མཐོར་བསྐྱེངས་པ །
- ༡༠) རལ་གྱི་བསྐྱོད་ཇེ་རྒྱ་ཁྱབ་གསུམ་ནི། ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་དབུལ་ནམ་གསུམ་གྱིས་མཆོན་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་
པོའི་ནམ་འབྲུལ་རྒྱན་མི་ཆད་དུ་བྱོན་པ །
- ༡༡) དར་ཆའི་སྟོག་ཤིང་བྱང་ལ་ལྷུ་པ་ནི། སྤང་དོར་འབྲུལ་བ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བྱང་པོར་གནས་པ །
- ༡༢) དར་དཀར་གྱི་མདུད་པ་ནི། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་འཇམ་ལ་དམ་པའི་བདུས་མཆོན་བ་བཅས་དར་ཆའི་འབྲེལ་བ་ཤད་
ཆོག་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཀྱལ་བའོ །

38. SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE TIBETAN FLAG

The main features are: (1) a snow mountain, (2) a pair of lions, (3) the rising sun, (4) twelve stripes alternatively in red and blue, and (5) other top decorations.

1. *The Snow Mountain* symbolises the geographical features of Tibet surrounded by the lofty Himalayas
2. *The Pair of Lions*, the twin system of Temporal and Spiritual power
3. *The Wishing Gem* (in the paws of the lions), the rule of law based on the principle of cause and effect underlying the Ten Golden Precepts and the Sixteen Humane Principles which are the source of infinite benefit and peace
4. *The Flaming Jewel* (over the wishing gem), devotion to the Three Gems (Triratna) who are endowed with twenty-four transcendental attributes
5. *Two Flags in red and blue*, unfailing support of the two guardian deities known as Mar Nag Nyi
6. *Twelve Stripes in red and blue*, the twelve descendants of the six aboriginals of Tibet
7. *The Rising Sun*, freedom, happiness and prosperity of the nation
8. *The Golden-coloured Borders* (on three corners), the spread of the ideals of Buddhism
9. *The Five-coloured Banner* (on top of the mast), the victory of Gadan Phodrang, the Central Government of Tibet, over all spheres
10. *The Double-edged Sword, the Vajra and the Lotus* (on top of the banner), the incessant appearance of the incarnations of the Three Bodhisattvas -- Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi
11. *The Unbending Mast*, the justice of law without fear or favour
12. *The Knot of the White Ribbon*, the noble tradition of the Dharma.

39. NARRATIVE ART OF TIBET

In the Vinaya of the Mūla-sarvāstivādin school it is enjoined that pictorial representations of the jātakas should embellish monastic interiors. It is narrated in the Vinaya (10.305b) that Anāthapiṇḍada wanted to decorate the walls of Jetavana vihāra which he was about to offer to the Buddha. The monks did not know what to do. The Buddha said that a single colour should not be employed, but all the four kinds of colours. When Anāthapiṇḍada had commissioned the painters they asked him "what should we represent". The Buddha said: "at the entrance portal a yakṣa holding a baton/daṇḍa, in the vestibule the Grand Miracle and the Wheel of Existence in five divisions (gati), and in the cloister the garland of jātakas (Jātaka-mālā), and....." (Dulva 11.34a, Chinese Tripiṭaka, Tokyo ed. 17.1.66b col.8). While the painters worked, the monks washed near the frescos bespattering and splashing at them. They made fire and blackened them with smoke. This earned them a reprimand from the Buddha (Dulva 11.35b). Finally when the paintings were completed, men came to admire them which brought about many conversions, even among the brahmins (Dulva 11.94a, Chinese Tripiṭaka, Tokyo ed. 17.1.78b col.15). This passage provides precise themes to be painted on the convent walls. In the Ajanta caves many paintings are inspired by such Vinaya rules, for instance, the Wheel of Existence (bhava-cakra) in the veranda of the Seventeenth Cave, and the most frequently represented scenes at Ajanta derive from the Jātaka-mālā of Ārya Śūra.

In Tibet, the Jātaka-mālā of Ārya Śūra was painted now and then, here and there, but the prime source for narrative murals was the Avadāna-kalpalatā of Kṣemendra, the celebrated polymath of Kashmir. Kṣemendra was born around A.D. 990 as the son of Prakāśendra. His grandfather was Sindhu and great-grandfather Bhogīndra, and a distant forebear Narendra was minister to king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir. Prakāśendra, the father of Kṣemendra, was a munificent philanthropist, a patron of learning and a scholar in his own right. Brought up in material prosperity, Kṣemendra had the best education under the most famous teachers, like the eminent rhetorician Abhinavagupta. Kṣemendra's indefatigable energy, keen intellect and poetic eloquence has rendered him a pearl of Sanskrit literateurs. His literary oeuvre is as vast and varied as outstanding and inimitable. His epitomes of the epics, didactic verses, works on poetics, metrics and other disciplines number about forty, many of them now lost.

Among the poetic epitomes of Kṣemendra, the Avadāna-kalpalatā occupies a special place as it has been a source of inspiration to Tibetan and Mongolian literary

masters which has moulded their kāvya diction. Kṣemendra wrote the Avadāna-kalpalatā in A.D. 1052 at the instance of his Buddhist friend Nakka, and with the cooperation of scholar Vīryabhadra. When the light of Buddhism and its artistic glories were flickering out in Kashmir, Kṣemendra set himself to capture the moral purity, enlightenment and beauty of the fading cloister walls in the varied flow of metres in the Avadāna-kalpalatā, as his son Somendra says in the 108th chapter:

Gone are the monasteries in the flow of time whose cloisters were painted with charming murals of Buddhist avādanas in golden hues and which held the eyes in rapture. My father has collected these edifying tales, painted them in variegated hues of the poetic art, and it has verily become a magnificent and sanctifying vihāra which transcends oblivion even by time.

The Avadāna-kalpalatā soon earned distinction as an outstanding collection of Avadāna stories illustrating the pāramitā vows, since it was written in the current style of kāvya by an outstanding author famed in the literary circles of Kashmir and beyond. When Śākyaśrī, or Kha-che paṇ-chen 'the great paṇḍita of Kashmir' as the Tibetans call him, visited Tibet in A.D. 1204 he carried with him a copy of the Avadāna-kalpalatā. He presented it to the Sa-skyā paṇḍita Kun-dgaḥ-rgyal-mtshan the same year, when the latter met him at Chu-mig. Seven decades later, in A.D. 1272, it was translated into Tibetan by Śoṅ-ston Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (Rdor-rgyal) with the help of the Indian teacher Lakṣmīkara, at the command of Ḥphags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan of the Sa-skyā monastery and miḥi-dbañ-po dpon-chen Śākya-bzañ-po, during the heyday of the Sa-skyā sect. The translation was executed with the cooperation of ācārya Ņi-maḥi-dpal in the vihāra of Dge-ḥdun-bzhi-sde in the Mañ-yul area, under the title of Byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥi rtogs-pa-brjod-paḥi dpag-bsam-gyi ḥkhri-śiñ. According to the Derge edition of the Tanjur, it was revised by Chos-skyoñ-bzañ-po.

Śoṅ-ston the translator of the Avadāna-kalpalatā had approached Ḥphags-pa to send him to India to learn the work of a translator. Ḥphags-pa said "It is a good idea. But it is difficult to acquire the ability of translating new texts. Study well and interrogate paṇḍitas. Therefore, you should at any rate master the treatises on prosody, grammar, etc." Saying so, gave him the above-mentioned books, five golden srañ, and ten pieces of silk. Having reached Nepal, he attended for five years on the paṇḍita Mahendrabhadra, and mastered the five lesser sciences Śoṅ-ston translated the Avadāna-kalpalatā for the first time.

The kāvya soon became a Tibetan classic, an inspiration and model for literary style and masters were initiated into it. When G.yag-sde paṇ-chen (born A.D. 1299) had

received his final monastic ordination he was introduced to the Avadāna-kalpalatā by Blo-gros-mtshuṅs-med. The Imperial Preceptor Karma-pa Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje (1340-1383) recited the Avadāna-kalpalatā to Chos-kyi-rgyal-po of Ḥbri-khuṅ, on his way from China to Tibet.

The text was revised and corrected by the great grammarian, the lotsava of Zhalu, Chos-skyoṅ bzaṅ-po (Dharmapāla) who lived 1441-1528. After a careful collation with authentic copies then known, the Tanjur was newly edited under orders of the Fifth Dalai Lama Blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho, by the lotsava of Ḥdar Ṅag-dbaṅ-phun-tshogs who had translated the grammar of Pāṇini into Tibetan with the help of paṇḍita Balabhadra of Varanasi who was residing at Lhasa at the time. The Avadāna-kalpalatā was included in volume 93 of this Tanjur. The Tibetan text, with Sanskrit in interlinear Tibetan transcription was blockprinted in A.D. 1662 in 620 folios.

While the Avadāna-kalpalatā served as a prime model for Tibetan literateurs who were following the rhetoric styles of India, it also provided avadāna narratives for painting the walls of the monasteries as required by the Vinaya.

As the Avadāna-kalpalatā acquired prestige as a magnum opus of kāvya genre, the Tibetan convents found it a lively source for translating it into murals, in accord with the prescriptions of the Vinaya. In Tibet, the earliest extant jātika representations are illustrations of Kṣemendra's poem, done with care. It illumined the graphic culture of the Sa-skyapa and Phag-mo-grupa. It enlivened the wall paintings at Rgya, Snar-thaṅ and Jo-naṅ. After centuries of pictorial rendition of the Avadāna-kalpalatā with the utmost attention to detail, the need for handy and authoritative models was felt.

In the first half of the 18th century, Gyur-med-ye-śes-rtse-brtan, caused the entire series of the avadānas of Kṣemendra to be cut on 30 wooden blocks at the printery of the Narthang monastery, with a central thaṅka, thus constituting a set of 31 woodcuts. These Narthang woodcuts spread far and wide in the Lamaist world so that painters could copy these readymade models and display their ingenuity in putting colours in pleasing combinations. On every woodcut the episodes are identified by the chapter number of the Avadāna-kalpalatā and brief identifications from the prose summary entitled *Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥi rtogs-pa-brjod-pa mdzad-brgya dpag-bsam-ḥkhri-śiṅ blun-rmoṅs byis-pa raṅ-ñid go-bde-ba*. The first is the central thaṅka and fifteen each unfold on both sides.

Somendra the son of Kṣemendra has, in the preamble to his 108th avadāna, conceived of the work of his father in the imagery of the artist's brush illuminating a holy convent. When he supplements it with one avadāna to bring it to the auspicious number of 108, he once more echoes the same feeling in that he is consecrating an image to this

convent for eternal merit. The structures, murals and images of the great Kashmiri convents are lost, but their agony of the void has been pressed into the folios of the gigantic manuscript that the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* is. It has found a new epiphany in the work of Tibetan artists in all the purity of faith and faithfulness to the spirit of Kṣemendra as voiced by his gifted son Somendra. That the eternal may once again be irradiated in the present, when the Soul of Tibet is silenced, we have spoken of the Narthang woodcuts of Kṣemendra's versified *avadāna* tales culled from diverse sources, which have furnished a guide to Lamaist artists for the last two centuries, to exemplify some of the disciplinary injunctions of the Vinaya and to inculcate the *pāramitā* perfections as a preparation to supreme Enlightenment. To paint is to evoke. So here is a streaming flow of lines to germinate in inner spaces and silence.

From the series of 31 woodcuts, here is reproduced the fifth woodcut which depicts the stories of Jyotiṣka, Rebirth, Sundarī and Nanda, and Virūḍhaka. The story of Nanda is sketched in the upper left corner in its most important moments. The first small picture represents two persons, one confronting the other, as if in conversation: evidently Nanda and his wife. Immediately above, the Buddha preaching in Nanda's house; lower down, on the right, the Buddha leading Nanda away, while some one tries to retain him and he turns back to look on his wife for the last time. Above, the Buddha preaching and Nanda who, regretting his wife, tries to leave the community, but is stopped by Śākyamuni at the door. The Buddha takes Nanda to view the torments of hell, reserved to those who do not keep their vows: the sinners are seen crowded into a chest and surrounded with flames; a demon is poking the fire. As a contrast, higher up beyond the clouds, a brief sketch of Nanda's former life and of the construction of the stupa which was the first cause of his rebirth into a prosperous existence.

When Buddha came back to Kapilavastu and went for alms in his own city, in the midst of a great crowd of people, his nephew Nanda, ardently enamoured of his young and lovely wife, followed him on the invitation of Buddha himself; indeed he used to hold the pot in which the alms were collected. Nanda followed the Buddha with his body, but his mind was always fixed on his wife and he longed to get home. Having arrived before the others in the hermitage, he wished to take leave of the Buddha, who on the contrary detained him with praises of an ascetic's serenity. "The ornament of age is virtue, of virtue judgement, of judgement serenity, of serenity victory over passion".

In the end he advised Nanda to become a monk. Nanda, in order not to disappoint the Buddha, rather than through heartfelt conviction, put on a monk's robe, but instead of meditating on renouncement, his thoughts were always with his beloved. "We know

not through what path passion enters into the mind; like the colour of a piece of glass, even if you wash it, it does not go". His one desire was to go back to her and in the meantime he broke two promises: the promise he had made her, to come back soon to her arms and the one he had made the Buddha, to lead an ascetic's life. Instead of meditating, he painted his wife's portrait, seriously shocking the monks and being much reproved by the Buddha. But Nanda, heedless of all reproaches, more than once set out for his home, and was always detained in time by the Buddha, who took every opportunity to show him the advantages of renunciation and salvation.

The Buddha carried him up, flying through the air, to the mountain Gandhamādana, showed him an old, blind she-ape, and told him that "neither what is good nor what is evil exist: it is only passion which discovers an object to be pleasing. Each one, in this world, is pleasing to those who love him". Then he asked Nanda if by chance he did not prefer the she-ape to his wife. The young monk was astonished and could not understand what the Buddha meant by such a question, but the Buddha next took him to Paradise, where the apsaras were disporting themselves. Seeing them so divinely beautiful, Nanda forgot his wife and had no thought but for them. Buddha assured him that the apsaras would be his when, having observed chastity in this life and kept his vows, he would be reborn into the Paradise. Nanda then, descends once more upon earth with the Buddha and hoping to obtain those celestial joys, he follows an exceedingly strict way of life, but one day he sees a burning land, inhabited by demons, and from them he learns that their lot will be his own, because he has not had the strength to keep his ascetic vows with heartfelt firmness. Panic-stricken, he repents and obtains enlightenment.



40. GLIMPSES OF THE HISTORY OF INDO-TIBETAN MEDICINE

The medical lore of Tibet is primarily based on the Āyurveda of India which is its preponderant element. Seventeen Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan and they cover six huge tomes of the Tanjur, the collection of Tibetan Canonical Classics which have enjoyed the devotion of the pious and the dedication of learned minds of the Land of Snows for a millenium. In all they run into more than four thousand imposing pages of Classical learning that awaits adventurous young minds to explore their riches in a transcreative vision. The earliest Indian text to be rendered into Tibetan seems to be the Gyuzhi or Four Tantras by Candranandana. It was translated in the eighth century and ever since it has been the fundamental classic of Tibet, used in medical practice and commented upon century after century. The Regent of the Fifth Dalai Lama Sangye-gyatso wrote an extensive commentary on this text in the 17th century which has overshadowed all his predecessors in its comprehensiveness and clarity of understanding. Candranandana wrote a commentary on the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya and also its pharmacopoeia.

In the latter part of the tenth century Dharmaśrī-varmā of India accomplished the herculean task of translating the "Lapis Lazuli Commentary" on the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya in 1210 pages.

The most prolific translator of Indic texts on medicine was the untiring Rinchen-sangpo who lived from A.D.958 to 1055. He translated the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa, and its commentary by Candranandana in collaboration with Jālandhara of India. He was responsible for the Tibetan translation of a veritable encyclopaedia of veterinary science: the principles of horse medicine (hippiatry).

In the thirteenth century Ratna-śrī (A.D.1228-1308) translated Sanskrit texts on alchemy into Tibetan with the help of a yogin and scholars. The original Sanskrit texts are lost and their Tibetan versions are unique works on broad-spectrum tonic elixirs to restore the system back to health.

Dharmapāla the great translator of Zhalu is well known as the systematiser of grammatical literature in Tibet. He lived from A.D.1441 to 1528. He translated the "Treasury of Roots", a compendium of remedies, by the famous Nāgārjuna. It is a formulary of roots destined for the treatment of nervous and cutaneous infections, fevers, eye and other diseases, accompanied by mantras. It is a precious work on psychosomatic treatments.

The Great Fifth or Dalai Lama Lobsang-gyatso (A.D. 1617-1682) was the most outstanding statesman and foremost writer of Tibet. He enriched his country with

historical works, liturgical treatises, handbooks on propitiatory methods of various deities, compendious works on metaphysics, subtle commentaries on the summa of Buddhism, works on metrics, rhetorics, literary criticism, stylistics and medicine. He embellished his land with temples and monasteries with funds flowing from the zeal and piety of the Mongolian nobles who flocked to Lhasa loaded with gifts. The Fifth Dalai Lama renewed the tradition of inviting Indian pandits to Tibet. They inspired fresh interest in the translation of secular disciplines, like the medical science. The court physician of the Fifth Dalai Lama Dharmo Manrampa had the biography of Yuthok Senior and Junior engraved on woodblocks for printing. He, along with others, commissioned the translation of new Sanskrit medical texts into Tibetan, under the supervision of Lhundup the Translator from H̥dar. They collated extracts from the works of ten celebrated physicians of India, on etiology, hygiene, opium and alum therapy, medico-tantric formulae, series of magic diagrams pertaining to diverse pathologic considerations. It is a sprawling amalgam of disparate components based on practical experience. It was completed at the Potala Palace in A.D. 1644. The second work is on the methods of treatment of Doctor Dānadāsa. It is accompanied by 72 esoteric medical cakras. The third treatise is a medico-alchemical compilation done with the assistance of Doctor Raghunātha from Mathura near Delhi the capital of modern India. It terminates with procedures for the preparation of metallic remedies. It was followed by a collection of occult remedies for maladies produced by piśāca and graha, transmitted by the physician Raghunātha to the great Lotsava Lhundup. The last work to be included into the Tibetan Canon of the Tanjur was a practical memorandum on hygiene, therapeutics and surgery of eye diseases entitled 'Regenerator of Vision'.

Four works of Nāgārjuna were rendered into Tibetan, including the Yoga-śataka and Jīva-sūtra. The Yoga-śataka was one of the most popular books of medical prescriptions. It was in use from Central Asia to Srilanka. Its three folios have been recovered from Central Asia in the local Kuchean language which is cognate to European languages. The book was translated into Kuchean around A.D. 650. The Siddha-sāra of Ravigupta was also done into Tibetan. It was a treatise of wide vogue. The fragments of its Uigur Turkish translation have been unearthed from the sands of Central Asia. It is a famous work of Siddha medicine.

The transference of medical sciences from India to Tibet was a continuous tradition of a millenium beginning in the eighth century and fostered till the seventeenth century. These translations were assimilated by Tibetan scholars and fostered through commentaries and practical handbooks. Personal memoranda of a few folios covering

most-used prescriptions were written down by eminent doctors and they were xylographed for daily use. Tibetan medicine gained new strength by assimilating the Greek system via Persia. Chinese medicine and materia medica added another dimension to Tibet's medical lore. A new Tibetan system was born from its very inception. It underwent modulations and harmonisations based on experience modified by the alpine context. It was a continuing search for authenticity and equilibrium of man's body, characterised by the deepest in man and nature, in the perception of Buddhist serenity.

The medical sciences of Tibet are a continuation and amplification of that of India. Thus they are the culmination of five millenia of man's way to the threshold of a wholesome life of harmonised existence, of his experience of a full sentence. Excavations on ancient Indian sites of the third millenium B.C. have brought to light several therapeutic substances like the *śilājatu*, a remedy for diabetes, rheumatism etc. Bones of the octopus have been exhumed from earthen-ware vessels. Leaves of the tree *Azadirachta indica*, horns of the red deer, and skulls on which cranial surgery had been performed---all point to the high antiquity of the medical sciences in India. In the Vedic period, which has been dated from 5000 B.C. to 2000 B.C., medicine was already an established profession. *R̥gveda* 9.112 speaks of the healing of fractures and 10.97 is dedicated to healing herbs. The *Aśvins* were famed physicians and wonder-working surgeons. They were adepts in treating blindness, paralysis, and rejuvenation. They replaced the lost leg of a soldier by an iron one. The *Atharva-veda* is considered to be the source of all *āyurveda* or the classical medicine of India. It speaks of the use of an unidentified plant *kuṣṭha* to combat malarial fever. It speaks of prosthetic limbs, artificial eyes and newly set dentures! During the life-time of the Buddha lived Jīvaka the 'thrice-crowned king' of physician-surgeons. He was an expert in paediatrics and even excelled in brain surgery. He successfully performed intricate abdominal operations. He was a disciple of the renowned *Ātreya* of Taxila, a pioneer in India's history of the medical sciences. During his reign, Emperor *Aśoka* provided hospitals throughout his dominions and even beyond in the lands on its frontiers....and as far as Srilanka and of the Greek king named *Antiochus* and of those kings who are neighbours of that *Antiochus*.....Medicinal herbs whether useful to man or to beast, have been brought and planted wherever they did not grow.....*Megasthenes*, the Greek Ambassador to the court of the Mauryan Emperor (3rd cent. B.C.) speaks of the high level of India's attainments in obstetrics, preventive medicine and dietetics. Medical science continued to find ever-widening avenues of development in India over the centuries.

Tibetan fastnesses, untouched by war, preserved the rich heritage of Indian medicine till the Chinese occupation. The Chakpori Medical College at Lhasa was the oldest institution of its kind. Indo-Tibetan medicine travelled to the Khalkhas, Inner Mongols and the distant Buryats of N.E. Siberia.

The Tibetan system is a confluent trinity of the Indic, Hellenic and Sinic traditions of medicine wherein the spatial tangents have met and harmonised. The Buddhist *oikumene* provides Tibetan medicine a cosmo-the-andric vision in which the centre is neither in the cosmos, nor in the divine (*theos*), and nor in man (*andros*). It is a centre to be found in the intersection of the three. Indo-Tibetan medicine is a new transcreative trinity of time wherein the legacy of the past has to be interpreted in a tongue of today to give birth to new qualitative parameters to medical science of the future.

The 'diamond healing' of Tibet summons us to explore further shores of this transcendent system of a holistic approach to man as a healthy being in body and mind, and disease as a disturbance of this homostasis. It treats a person as a whole wherein the physical and trans-physical faculties of man combat the disequilibrium of his total being. It is a challenging stimulus to thinkers of the encounter between the two cultures, the scientific and the humane, and their rapprochement. Contemporary science has gone a long way to establish that the universe is non-material, that matter is energy, space is real and processes are as valid as facts, and the principle of complementarity validates the subjective content of human experience. It provides shimmers of the living order of Tibetan wisdom to bring a universal frame of reference for a new scientific approach to replace the shattered image of mechanical notions of the 19th century.

Tibetan medicine tempts us to view the wholeness of Man and the wedding of world's civilizations to seek solution to the problem of suffering in a convergence of the humanistic, spiritual and scientific Man becoming one person.

41. BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

Mongolian Buddhism is a highly developed system of philosophy, with a complex ritual. Herein are some glimpses of Buddhism in Mongolia, without going into philosophic intricacies.

The Buddhist custom of Mongolia demands a *maṅgalācaraṇa* or salutary beginning. After taking refuge in the Lord, the Order and the Doctrine, i.e. Lord Buddha, the venerable Saṅgha, and the precious Dharma, the Buddhist scholars of Mongolia express their salutations to eminent dharmadharas or pillars of the Doctrine in elegant language. To follow in their footsteps, I translate such a passage : "My obeisance to the Lord of infinite compassion, He who holds the pure lotus of supreme kindness, He who sustains the holy banner of the Dharma of Tsoṅkhapa, the exalted Lord of beings who reside in this Northern Land of Mongolia. He who delivers men from the constant cycle of wanderings in various existences, may He in the form of Mahākāla, dispel the hindrances which mar the way to peace and happiness".

In the winter of 1956 our country celebrated one of the most momentous events of history, the 2500th anniversary of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Lord Buddha. It was unique in many respects on which we need not dwell here. It brought to our minds once again the message of compassion and peace as preached by Lord Buddha---a message most needed today when the entire human race stands face to face with total annihilation. Moreover, this *jayantī* gave us the singular privilege of having amidst us supreme men like Their Exalted Holiness' the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, representatives of the Buddhists of far-flung Siberia, and the delegates of People's Republic of Mongolia. The distant land of Mongolia, whose history and religion were till yesterday inaccessible to us, become a living reality. I had the rare privilege of meeting two eminent Mongols, one a man of pristine wisdom, and the other a man of modern learning. Having read about Mongolian Buddhism for years, it was a fascination to see and talk to these two representatives of an ancient land with centuries of glory trailing behind. Venerable Lama Gombodo was the Grand Gesgui or the Grand Ceremony Master of the great monastery of Gandang. His companion Prof. Lubsang Vandan, a philologist by profession, acted as his interpreter. As one heard Ven. Gombodo describe the holy monastery of Gandang, one could hardly resist the temptation of being there. One of the exciting things the Venerable related was that, over four hundred years ago the holy water of Ganga had been taken to his monastery, and it was still there in its microcosmic form. As he related this historic fact of friendship and love between our two ancient countries his eyes

gleamed with joy and an indescribable hope of his being the first venerable of this century to take back with him the holy water. He went on that this water still existed. But how could it exist through so many centuries. The pious Buddhist monks had used the first quantity of this holy water in their tea, over four hundred years ago. From that tea they kept a portion for the next day which was poured into the tea for that day. From the next day again a portion was preserved for the day to come, and so on for this long expanse of time. The ever-increasing microscopicality of water did not detract from its potency. The potency rather increased. Tea is a part of the religious ceremonial in Mongolian Buddhism. The old Takhure (i.e. modern Ulan Bator) was famous throughout the Lamaist world for its huge and historic cauldrons in which tea could be prepared for ten thousand monks at a time.

The Venerable Gombodo could not resist asking us if it would be possible to take the holy Ganga water with him. My father, Prof. RaghuVira, at once agreed to help him to procure it. The next day they went to Hrishikesh and Ven. Gombodo was proud that he would again take the Holy Water to the Gandang Monastery.

Afer a few months of our exciting conversation with these first Mongolians in India. I, my wife and sister (Mrs. Dr. S. Singhal) were afforded the honour of visiting Mongolia. After a brief sojourn in Moscow, we took a plane to Ulan Bator, our hearts eager to be there at the earliest opportunity. We flew over various cities of Siberia. We crossed lake Baikal, the northernmost limit of Mongolian Buddhism. After a flight of over 30 hours we landed in Ulan Bator, with the mountain Bagdo-ol flanking the airfield. It was the realisation of a dream. We were greeted by the Venerable Gombodo, Dampadarje (Śāsana-varadhana), representatives of the Ministry of Culture, Madame Ratna the wife of the foremost Mongol scholar Prof. Rinchen, Prof. Lobsang Vandan, interpreters, and various other friends. We were soon in the Altai Hotel, a grand building, where all the foreign guests stay.

The next day we were invited by the monastery of Gandang. The full name of Gandang is Gandangthegchenling. On one of its halls, its name is also inscribed in Sanskrit as *Tuṣitaḥ mahāyānadvīpa*. The entrance to the precincts of the monastery is flanked by two lions in stone, guarding the doctrine of Śākyasimha, or the Lion of the Śākyas, i.e. Lord Buddha. The lions are the mighty guardians of evil against the monastery. Standing near these two lions in stone, we are faced with five porcelain-roofed halls of Gandang. Multicoloured holy banners on high poles are erected in all directions along the wooden boundary wall. On top of the entrance-gate is the dharmacakra with deer on both sides--symbolising *dharmacakra-pravartana* or setting

the wheel of Law into motion i.e. the first sermon of Lord Buddha in the Deer Park (modern Sarnath). On entering the gate is a wooden platform which was used to proclaim to the Saṅgha the ordination of new bhikṣus.

The five halls are: (1) the Prayer Hall, (2) the Vajradhara Hall, (3) the Candanjovo Hall, (4) the Library, and (5) the Administration Hall. We were first taken to the Prayer Hall, which was resounding with the voice of over fifty monks reciting dhāraṇīs, accompanied by gongs, drums, cymbals, and Mongolian trumpets. The effect of the entire atmosphere was profound and ennobling. This holy music had the power of lifting us from this earth to superhuman heights. It could make us divine. The deep impression it left on us is beyond words. Every object inspired piety even in unbelieving hearts. The entire hall was full of artistic statues which had been consecrated by the hands of the faithful. The musical instruments bore beautiful nāga designs. Hundreds of silk-paintings hung on the walls. One of them was in appliqué, an exquisite piece of Mongolian craftsmanship. It was over 30 feet long. As we came out, we noticed tiny bells hanging from the sloping roofs. At every ripple of breeze, their musical tinkling contrasts with the pensive calm of the monastic precincts during the prayer-hours.

In the second hall the main image is of Dorjechaṅ or Vajradhara. This hall is opposite the main entrance. In front of this hall stands an incensoir i.e. a receptacle for dhūpa/incense. It is higher than myself, somewhere between 8 to 10 feet. It was presented by one of the emperors of China. This hall has a collection of over a thousand Buddhist works collectively known as the Kanjur or the words of Lord Buddha. The most interesting object in this hall is the daṇḍa or staff of an Indian teacher who went to Mongolia during the time of His Supreme Holiness the first Jibcundampa. Like His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Tibet, there was His Holiness the Jibcundampa in Mongolia.

The life of Jibcundampa I is recorded in Mongolian chojuṅs or monastic chronicles. There are three famous chojuṅs. They are fundamental sources for the history of Buddhism in Mongolia. One of these chronicles relate the life of Jibcundampa I in ornate language as follows: "He who illuminated the Law in the heart of this northern land of Mongolia as the sun illumines this earth, the supreme person or puruṣottama, the refuge of creatures, the first Jibcundampa, Svayambhū-jñānavajra Sumatiśāsanāśrīdhvaja incarnated in the 9th Wood-Pig year of the 11th rabjuṅ or sexagenary cycle, as the son of Thuśethu king Gombodorje in the Hangkaikhan district in the village Usuncuile. His birth was preceded and followed by miracles. Before his birth appeared an Indian ācārya wearing a paṇ-zhwa (or paṇḍita-cap) and riding an elephant. He said "I am going to King Thuśethu, " and disappeared. In the royal gardens grew lovely flowers in

the winter season when His Holiness (H.H.) was born. At the age of three, H.H. recited books which he had never seen, e.g. the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. At this age, H.H. got his initiation from Byams-pa-gliṅ-nomun-qan, and the name Jñānavajra. The Mongolians pronounce it Zanabazar and term him Ündür Gegen in respect. H. H. came to know the language of ācāryas (i.e. Sanskrit) by himself. H.H. began to speak Tibetan instinctively. At the very tender age of four years, H.H. composed two verses. H.H. performed many miracles. The people saw in H.H. the incarnation of a great personage. Thereupon several emissaries were sent to Their Holiness' Panchen Lama, the Dalai Lama and the Chojuñ or State Oracle of Lhasa to enquire about H.H. All unanimously proclaimed H.H. as the incarnation of the great saint and scholar Tāranātha. At the age of five, H.H. was enthroned at Sherethuchagennor as the supreme spiritual refuge of the Mongolian people." Thus a chronicle goes on to detail the life of this eminent spiritual preceptor of the Mongols. It describes his pilgrimages, the construction of monasteries, the numerous honours showered on him, the caves where he sat in meditation, invention of the Soyambo script, efforts to create peace among warring Mongol tribes, audience with the Emperor of China, his skills as an icon-maker, and his numerous acts for the welfare of the Mongolian people. The life of H.H. was singular in that two Indian ācāryas came and resided in his personal yurt. They talked to H.H. in Sanskrit. One of them was a yogācārya. The elder ācārya was called Dosorcan or one having a stone finger. He presented to H.H. the stories of King Bhoja, Vikramāditya and Kṛṣṇa. This trilogy was rendered into the Mongolian language. Till today these stories can be heard in the remote tents of Mongolia. The staff of this Indian ācārya is preserved at the Gandang monastery. The masks of these two ācāryas were incorporated in the Mongolian Buddhist Cham dance. Some of these masks are still preserved in the Chojinlaminsum. H.H. created a new script for the Mongolian language on the basis of the Nagari script which he called Svayambhū-jyoti or Soyambo in short. It meant the light of freedom. This script was used for communication among the freedom fighters against the tyranny of Manchu imperators. Even today it can be seen in inscriptions engraved on the nine stūpas at Erdenidzu erected in 1958 for "Peace throughout the Planet of ours".

Let us come to the second hall of the Gandang monastery. It contains an image of Avalokiteśvara of the seventh century. This image was brought from Nepal. On the walls of this hall, you can find Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. One of them reads: *Om namo bhagavate bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya-prabha-rājāya tathāgatāya arhate samyaksambuddhāya*, etc.

The third is the hall of Candanjovo. It contains the replica of a sandalwood statue of Lord Buddha. The original sandalwood statue is in the Siberian republic of Buryat Mongolia. The original is reputed to have been made during the life time of Lord Buddha himself. This hall has over 30 Buddhist images which were made in Poland at the beginning of this century. It is hardly known that Poland was a centre for the making of Buddhist images. Mongolia purchased a hundred thousand Buddhist statues from Poland in about 1912.

The fourth hall in the Gandang monastery contains a rich collection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts and xylographs. The name of the library is written on the door-top in four languages, one of which is Sanskrit. The Sanskrit name is *Tuṣitaḥ mahāyāna-dvīpasya pustikagaṇja*. It is a unique treasury for scholars who wish to investigate the rich Buddhist heritage of the Mongolian people. Everything that one sees here is hallowed by time. Even the table-cloth has a historic design. It has the navaratnas: *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *mīna*, *śaṅkha*, *padma*, *maṅgala-kalaśa*, etc.

In the Gandang monastery we met two learned lamas who knew Sanskrit. They have a passion for learning the divine language Sanskrit. One of them is Tanzinodser whose name in Sanskrit is *Śāsanadharaprabha*, and the other is Yishithabkhai or *Jñānopāyakuśala*. Both of them were studying the *Sārasvata* Sanskrit grammar when we were there. Ven. Tanzinodser is a talented Buddhist scholar, a gifted painter, and well-versed in making Buddhist statues. He told us that one of the Indian teachers who had come to Mongolia during the days of Jibcundampa I had taught the monks of that time to cook some Indian preparations. One of them was *batash* or *patashas*. The monks prepare special saline cakes called *gabcuin dugui* or the *upādhyāya-cakra*. These are given to special guests as a mark of honour. The traditional Mongolian custom of welcoming a guest is akin to the *madhuparka* of India. A hostess will treat her guest with milk products like cream, curds and cheese in a silver vessel, with a wooden ladle.

The capital of Mongolia is Ulan Bator or the "City of the Red Hero". It is named after Sukhebator, the Lenin of Mongolia. In the capital is situated the State Library, housed in the building of the Academy of Sciences. This library has an astoundingly immense collection of Buddhist works in the Mongolian and Tibetan languages. Since the last 35 years, it has become world's richest collection of Mongolian and Tibetan xylographs and manuscripts, many of which are unique. Mongolian literature is rich in Buddhist and other works akin in spirit to that of India. The "pearls of their literature" are the 108 volumes of the Kanjur and 226 volumes of the Tanjur, now preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences. The 108 volumes of the Mongolian Kanjur are

conserved here in boxes darkened by the passing of time. These 108 volumes embody the most sacred Buddhist literature which sprang from the mouth of the Enlightened One himself. The translation of this vast collection of about 1200 works extending over more than 80,000 pages was started by the Mongols in the 12th century and finished in the 17th century. The pride of the library are 226 volumes of the Mongolian Tanjur, whose printing was completed in the 18th century. The Tanjur contains the translation of works of the Buddhist master-minds of India on such diverse subjects as philosophy, logic, medicine, grammar, art, literature, rhetorics, ritual, architecture and a host of other disciplines. It even contains the famous lyric poem of Kālidāsa, the Meghadūta, that enjoyed in ancient Mongolia no less popularity than the philosophic poem of Śāntideva, the Bodhicaryāvatāra.

Thousands of Mongolian manuscripts and chronicles of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries are lying on shelves awaiting their turn for research work. Dozens of specialists in Mongolian philology, history and literature could devote their entire lives to study all that is preserved in this great depository, the State Library.

Among ancient manuscripts occupying the foremost place in this library, is an 11th century Sanskrit manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, with multi-coloured miniatures. It is written on palm leaves. It has the autographs of its former owners of the 14th century. Among them was Khedup Chorje, the leading disciple of Tsoṅkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect of Lamaism.

The total number of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and xylographed works in this library runs upto a lac. This testifies to the astonishingly prolific literary activity of the Mongolian Buddhist writers from the 13th century to the 19th century. I had the rare privilege of peeping into the riches of the library. The authorities provided me with a special room for working. The rare and unique works in this library are covered in the three volumes of my *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

Now let us go 450 km. away from Ulan Bator to the ancient capital of Mongolia. When the Mongolians were at the height of their glory, emperor Chinggis Khan had his capital in Karakorum pitched in gers, the traditional tent-dwellings of the Mongolians. Now only a few remnants of the city wall can be seen at the site. A giant tortoise in stone, which must have decorated one of the entrance gates to the tent-city remains. On the environs of this vanished capital stands the first Mongolian monastery of the Gelukpas. It is called Erdenidzu. Erdeni is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *ratna*. Here it would be necessary to give a general idea of the beginnings of Buddhism in Mongolia to understand the important place occupied by Erdenidzu in Mongolian history. In

Mongolia the earliest Buddhist remains date from the 6th to the 8th centuries. The early Buddhist teachers alluded to in the chronicles were the Sogdians. They were followed by the Uigurs, a Turkish tribe. The Uigurs were ardent Buddhists and recited dhāraṇīs in Sanskrit. The Uigur translation of the famous Buddhist work *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is preserved in Leningrad in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The Uigur translations of Buddhist texts found their way into Mongolia. Their script became the national script of Mongolia and it has remained so till today without any major modifications. The introduction of this script gave rise to Mongolian Buddhist literature. In the times of the first Chinese emperor of the Sui dynasty, north Indian Pandits Śākyavaṃśa and Narendrayaśas came to Mongolia and actively worked for the spiritual welfare of the Mongolian people. Mongolian scholars are recorded to have visited India over the centuries for study and pilgrimage. Later on, the great masters of Tibet began to have more and more active contacts with Mongolia. This led to the introduction of the Red Sect of Lamaism. Till the 16th century Mongolian Buddhism was solely represented by the Red Sect. The famous Mongol patriot Cogtu taiji, whose flag is the flag of modern Mongolia, belonged to the Red Sect. This prince is famous for the Mongolian translation of the life of Milarepa the most popular yogin of Tibet and Mongolia. It was Tumengkhan, a son of the Khalkha prince Unugu, who first took to the Yellow Sect. His brother Abatai Khan went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa and had audience with H.H. the Dalai Lama, the head of the Yellow Sect. He was deeply impressed by the splendour and power of the Yellow Sect. H.H. the Dalai Lama proclaimed him a hutuktu or incarnation. After his return from Lhasa, Abatai Khan erected the first Mongolian monastery in 1586 on the banks of the river Orkhon at the site of Karakorum. This is the present Erdeni-dzu monastery. Erdeni-dzu was the jewel of Buddhism. It became the centre whence the Yellow Sect spread among Mongolians. The Erdeni-dzu is 450 km. from the modern capital. There is no metalled road. It is about 12 hours' drive in a car. The car goes over mountain tops and across ditches. Even in a heavy and comfortable cushioned car you feel as if galloping on a horse. The entire body gets a shaking. On reaching the historic monastery, you have the joyous feeling of having completed a pilgrimage. Till recently one thousand Lamas dwelt within its precincts. Today it is a museum full of historic statues, manuscripts and Buddhist objects of art. The surviving Erdeni-dzu has three main temples. The central temple has a huge image of the Lord. Its gate has a fine image of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa form of Acala encircled by a circle of flames, who is the protector of this temple. On its first floor is a Bodhi tree with tiny images of the Thousand Buddhas. These Thousand Buddhas create a deep impression of

the artistic talent of the Mongols. On the left of the central temple is yet another temple with huge images of Dīpaṅkara, Śākyamuni and Maitreya, Buddhas of the past, the present, and the future. The entire wall is embellished with superb silk-paintings. On the right side of the central temple is the third temple of Tsoṅkhapa where his statue towers over the visitor. This temple has a rich collection of Buddhist books heaped on the ground. Two huge caityas stand in the foreground of these three temples. Around them I collected some votive stupas of the 13th and 14th centuries. There are remains of several other structures within the enclosed precincts of this great monastery. The base of a great yurt still survives. Here once existed a yurt erected by the mighty Abatai Khan whose diameter was over 100 ft. -- one of the largest yurts in the whole of Mongolia.

The enclosure wall running around the entire ensemble of structures has 108 stupas from which the monastery can be located from a distance of several kilometres. In short, this monastery is a splendid monument of Mongolian Buddhist architecture, painting and iconography.

After this cursory survey, let us once again go back to Ulan Bator, where the Central State Museum, the Sukhebaator Museum and the Chojinlamin Sume are of interest for a student of Buddhism, besides the grand monastery of Gandang, the biggest living monastery of Mongolia today.

In Ulan Bator lives one of the greatest scholars of Mongolia, Prof. Dr. Rinchen. He is an anthropologist, folklorist, translator, linguist, poet, novelist, but above all a historian. It is enlightening to talk to him on the glorious history of his country. He is ready to tell you of the tremendous influence Buddhism has on the mind of his dear people. It is a pleasure to hear him recount, for example: if you happen to stop in any yurt, the first one falling on your way in the vast steppes, where the night may overtake you, before the fire of a hearth you will hear from the mouth of an old shepherd the philosophical poem *Bodhicaryāvatāra* composed by the famous Indian poet and thinker, Śāntideva, well known to Europeans through the beautiful translation by Finot and translated into the Mongolian language already in the 13th century. You will not be surprised if the old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock near the grazing herds, having come to know you to be a philologist, will enter into animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the 17th century the level of which was achieved by European linguists only during the last century".

The centuries-old cultural relations of the Mongolian people with India are reflected in their National Flag which has a golden five-pointed star with the golden

Soyombo emblem. Soyombo means becoming of the self, expression of one's innate being, that is freedom. The Soyombo is Sanskrit *svayambhū* with the lunar semicircle, circle and *nāda* the soaring sonance of the sacred syllable OM. The former President of Mongolia was His Excellency J. Sambu, which is Sanskrit Śambhu. Sixty years ago Sukhebator, creator of socialist Mongolia, blew a conch or śaṅkha summoning his countrymen to the epic of socialist deeds, to the crowning action of their lives for the emergence of revolutionary freedom. This symbolises the clarion call of the pāñcajanya conch of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gītā.

Eminent Mongol scientists at the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian Peoples Republic continue to research the immensity of the common cultural heritage of the Indian and Mongolian peoples.

42. IN SEARCH OF BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS IN EASTERN SIBERIA

Beyond the placid and shimmering blue waters of Lake Baikal in the heart of Eastern Siberia lie the fabled lands of the Buryats, known as the Buryat ASSR and the Chita Autonomous Region. They are the dreamland of a Sanskritist with their richly endowed monasteries, studded with icons of rare charm, resplendent with paintings on silken scrolls and stacked with xylographs and manuscripts of historic value--preserved with loving care by the savant lamas under the guidance of the ecclesiastical department of the Government of the USSR. For years on end, we had dreamt of seeing these historic treasures. Long last, in February 1967, Bandida (= Sanskrit Paṇḍita) Hambo Lama, J.D. Gomboev, Chairman of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR, sent an invitation which read: "The Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR is happy to invite you to visit our Buryat Republic and be a guest of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union. You may visit us at any time convenient for you. We shall be also very glad to receive together with you two of your colleagues in science and Buddhism. Your visit to our country will make great contribution into the cause of consolidating peace and friendship between our countries."

Meandering through different post offices, the invitation reached me on the 10th April 1967. I acknowledged receipt of the gracious invitation of the Bandida Hambo Lama and the three-man delegation was composed of Dr. Mrs. Sharada Rani, Mr. Kailash Chandra and myself. Various formalities took nearly two months while cables flashed back and forth. Ours was the first Indian delegation to visit the "closed-door republic" of the Buryat ASSR. Finally, on the 7th of June 1967 we left by the Aeroflot to Moscow, en route to Ulan-ude. Moscow was exceptionally chilly, but a warm welcome awaited us at the airport where the eminent Buryat scholar Prof. Phurbu Baldanzhabov and two officials from the International Office for Foreign Relations of the Department of Religious Affairs were present to receive us. The two officials were: the Uzbek Mr. Rajabov, the Chief Referent in the International Office, accompanied by his deputy, Mr. Zakirov, the Referent, a Tatar by birth. We passed through the Customs without any formalities as all delegations to the Soviet Union do. A fine vegetarian meal awaited us at the hotel. Prof. Baldanzhabov told us that he is writing a history of Mongol culture and is currently working at the Philological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Mongolian Peoples' Republic (MPR) at Ulanbator, to supplement his source-materials from the Institute at Ulan-ude. He told us that there are over 300,000 Buddhists in the

Buryat ASSR and a number of research projects on Buddhism are in progress at the Institute of Social Sciences at Ulan-ude to which we shall revert later on.

The whole morning of 8th June was spent in visiting the Mausoleum of Lenin and the Kremlin. The unending queue of visitors to the Lenin Mausoleum was forbidding but with traditional Soviet hospitality we were permitted to go in the front. Inside the Mausoleum, Lenin a great figure of the twentieth century, lay alone, in lifelike semblance. We paid silent homage to him, Revolution Incarnate. The row of tombs of other leaders of the Revolution besides the wall of the Kremlin bear busts of the entombed. At the end of the line lies the tomb of Stalin without a bust, but fresh flowers had been placed on it recently. In the afternoon, we paid a visit to our Ambassador, H.E. Shri Kewal Singh for finalising our visit to the Mongolian People's Republic. We drove through the gigantic Exhibition of the Economic Achievements of the USSR. Our guide talked Hindi and was an ardent admirer of our great poet Rabindranath Tagore. She wanted to read the Gitanjali in the poet's own English. At tea, Prof. Baldanzhabov introduced his charming son Sogto Purboyev who is specialising in Chinese and English at a Moscow Institute. Sogto is the Buryat pronunciation of Cogtu. Prof. Baldanzhabov hastened to tell us that Sogto is Sanskrit *śrī*. We found in our subsequent travels that a Buryat takes delight in being able to tell the Sanskrit equivalent of his name. We talked on several aspects of Buryat life and the strides it has taken after the Revolution. We were told of a rare manuscript of about a 1000 folios compiled by a Buryat scholar. It gives corrections in seven editions of the Kanjur, namely, Narthang, Derge, Peking, Chone, Lithang, Urga and Lhasa.

Late in the night at 22.30 we left Moscow for Ulan-ude, a city which was founded in 1666 by the Russians. It celebrated its 300th anniversary last year, and a special volume of 180 pages was published to commemorate the occasion: *Ulan-ude 300 Lyet* by V.V. Inkizhinov and others (Ulan-ude 1965). Next year in 1966 a short historic sketch by N.V. Kim appeared: *Očerki Istorii Ulan-ude*. After a short stay at Irkutsk, we reached Ulan-ude in the afternoon of 10th June. We were received by the Buddhist Patriarch Bandida Hambo Lama, Mr. Ochirzhabov Damdin the Chairman of the Religious Department in the Ministry of Culture of the Buryat ASSR, Mr. Badma Tserin, Deputy Director of the Ivolginsky Datsan, interpreter Mrs. Vera Andreyeva and others. On the way, Mrs. Vera told us that she was a Buryat from the Irkutsk region, and hence her Russian name. The Buryats born in Irkutsk have Russian names, and occasionally they have two names. For instance, the name of the father of Mrs. Vera was Qanqal in Buryat and Nikolai in Russian. We were taken to the only hotel at Ulan-ude, the Odon Zbezda

(*odon* 'star' in Buryat). As we sat at tea, we were presented with an album of modern Soviet Buryat painters (*Khudozhniki Buryatii*, Leningrad 1960). A few artists paint in the traditional style: the most outstanding among them is Mrs. Sakharovskaya. Mrs. Gerasimova is a historian of Buddhist art from the atheistic point of view. Her research work will appear in the coming years. We were told that there are direct descendants of Russians of the 17th century who came to lay the foundations of Ulan-ude. They are known as *simeskiya* or *staroabratsi* among the Buryats. The whole of Buryatia as well as the Mongolian People's Republic get their electricity from the gigantic electric station at Irkutsk. In the last fifteen years three more hydroelectric stations have been erected at Bratsk, Angarsk and Irkutsk.

The Bandida Hambo Lama welcomed us with the words: "We love and respect your culture". He told us that mineral water is *arśan* in Buryat, which is the Sanskrit word *rasāyana*. We were welcomed with "white food" as is the national custom. Milk products are offered when an honoured guest arrives. Asked about the milk yield, we were told that a cow gives 5-20 litres of milk per day, depending upon the season. The conversation drifted on to the etymology of the Transbaikalian toponyms, most of which have hardly been explained. Prof. Baldanzhabov told us that an old tribe lived on the shores of Baikal which spoke a Turkic language. As the folk etymology goes Baikal is split up as *bai* 'existing, being, having' + *kal* 'fire'. He was unable to correlate the connection of 'fire' with a water expanse and he proposed that in Turkic it should mean 'standing water'. In this context we may recall the Sanskrit concept of *vaḍavānala*, the submarine fire or the fire of the lower regions, fabled to emerge from a cavity called the 'mare's mouth' under the sea at the South Pole. Mahābhārata 1.6802 relates the whole legend in details. It would be interesting to compare it with the Buryat legends collected by Dr. Ilyasov in his article "About Toponymic Legends". The River Anggara is said to be the daughter of Lake Baikal whence she flows. Anggara is again a Turkic word meaning 'a hole through rock walls'. Recently, Birtagayev has written on the classification of the ten Buryat dialects. Asked if the Classical Buryat script is still taught in the schools, we were told only the Teachers Training Institute at Ulan-ude and the Universities of Irkutsk and Leningrad teach the Classical script. We were further informed of the great strides in modern Buryat literature in the post-Revolutionary period. A short history has been compiled by a committee consisting of L.E. Iliasov, V.A. Abramov, A.A. Belousov, Ts. -A. Dugar-Nimaev, G.O. Tudenov and published from Ulan-ude in 1959 by the Buryatskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo under the title of *Očer Istorii Buryatskoi Sovietskoi Literatur*.

In the evening we went for a stroll in the campus of the vast Agricultural Institute which faces the Hotel Odon. There we met the daughter of Prof. Baldanzhabov Mrs. Svetlana Sirgye and her husband Mr. Sirgye. Mrs. Svetlana spoke fluent English. She teaches English at a Russian school. In the Buryat ASSR there are two types of schools: Buryat schools and Russian schools. In the Buryat schools the Buryat language is the medium of instruction with Russian as a compulsory language. These are found mostly in the country-side. In the towns and cities Russian schools are prevalent. Russian is their medium, with Buryat as a compulsory language. The Buryats are proud of their language and literature. They point out that they have preserved the classical structure of words better than Khalkha, e.g. *narhan* for Classical *narasun*, whereas Khalkha has *nars*. The Soviet policy of promoting their culture helps them to preserve their linguistic and literary heritage.

Early in the morning of 10th June we left for Ivolginsky Datsan, the headquarters of the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR and the seat of Bandida Hambo Lama, its President. The town of Ivolginsk is about 40 kilometres from Ulan-ude. It derives its name from the Russian *iva* 'willow'. In former times when it was founded by the Russians willows grew here aplenty. The Monastery was constructed in 1948. At the Monastery we were received by the Bandida Hambo Lama, the Deputy Hambo Sibirnov Tsiden, Lama Badmayev Yishidorje, Lama Zhimba-jamso (representative of the Aginsky Monastery), several other lamas and a large crowd of devotees. We were welcomed with yoghurt mixed with honey and other ingredients: corresponding to Sanskrit *madhuparka*. A feast of 'white dishes' of milk awaited us--dried cream of milk called *ūrm*, a national dish of cherries and butter which has medicinal properties of prolonging life, milk-rice pudding (Sanskrit *pāyasa*) and others. As we sat in the guest room, the Bandida Hambo Lama told us that the Central Religious Board of the Buddhists of the USSR was headed by him and there were two Deputy Chairmen from the Ivolginsky and Aginsky monasteries. The Ivolginsky was represented by the Deputy Hambo Lama and the Aginsky by its Hambo Lama. In the Board there are other learned lamas, layman, scholars and government representatives. After the formal reception we were taken to the main hall of the Ivolginsky which has the Tibetan name *Ri-bo dge-rgyas bkra-sis chos-ḥkhor glin*. This name is inscribed on top of the entrance in Tibetan letters. Worship is held in this temple. A special service was conducted in our honour for one hour in full aura of the sonorous instruments. Fifteen lamas took part in the recitation of the Stotra to Sixteen Arhats and other holy texts in Tibetan. An innovation is the introduction of the recitation of the Pali *Maṅgalasutta* because of the several Ceylonese,

Nepalese and Cambodian Buddhist leaders and delegations that have visited and continue to visit the USSR. Since the tenure of office by Prof. Malalasekera as the Ambassador of Ceylon to Moscow, the Buryat Buddhists have had intimate relations with Ceylonese Buddhists. Modern Ceylonese and Nepalese prints of dagobas, scenes from the life of Lord Buddha and other Buddhist representations hang at both the monasteries of Ivolginsky and Aginsky. The interior is gorgeously decorated in traditional style. Out in the precincts are two stūpas constructed recently. There is a commemorative stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Venerable Sharapov Yeshedorje. Sharapov is the russified form of *śes-rab* 'prajñā'. His Sanskrit name was Prajñā-jñāna-vajra. The stūpa was completed in 1963 and consecrated as the *Dge ḥdun mchod rten* (the spelling is not certain). The second stūpa is the *Dpal-ldan ḥbras-spun mchod-rten* (Śrī-dhānyakaṭaka-stūpa) or the Drepung stūpa. The Buryats belong to the Gomang yig-cha of the Drepung Monastery at Lhasa. It is a charming edifice, founded in 1958.

We again went to the central temple on top of which is the *blos-bslan-gi khaṇ-pa* or Maṇḍala Hall. It has the architectonic maṇḍala of Śaṁvara (*Bde-mchog-gi blos-bslan*) depicted as an architectural edifice. There were a number of scrolls painted with maṇḍalas, the most exquisite among them was the maṇḍala of Sarvavid (*Kun-rig-gi ras-bris dkyil-ḥkhor*). Around the *blos-bslan* is the library of the Ivolginsky Datsan. It is the proud owner of a rare and complete 101-volume set of the *yisün erdeni-yin Ganjur* or nava-ratna Kanjur, written in nine inks prepared from silver, *mumin*, coral, turquoise, gold, copper, pearls, iron and conch. It was scribed about 80 years ago from the Narthang edition. The initial folios are miniatures in color with the images of deities. There are several thousand manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. They are arranged and kept subject-wise with their short titles written on *kha-yig* cloth sticking out. Most of the *sumbum* (*opera omnia*) are available in stray volumes. The librarian is a venerable old lama of 80 years, Prof. Balchinov Lobsang-yeshe, who is endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge in all branches of Buddhist learning.

In 1956 when the Bandida Hambo Lama attended the Buddha Jayanti in India he brought seeds of the Holy Tree from Bodhgaya. He planted it in a special wooden temple in 1957. It is a glasshouse with heating arrangements. Fertilisers have been used liberally. The Bandida Hambo Lama told us with filial affection how he had cared for the Holy Tree which is eleven years old now. He could hardly restrain his overflowing emotions as he talked of the loving care which he had bestowed to nourish the Tree. It was going to outgrow the temple ceiling. To survive the extreme cold of Buryatia it had to be in the warmth of an interior. What could he do for it. A Burmese delegation had visited the

temple and they had suggested that the Japanese technique of miniaturisation be applied. The Bandida Hambo Lama desperately wanted me to send a book on this technique. He was also keen to have the seeds or saplings of the sandalwood tree -- *čandan* is an auspicious tree of Buryat tales and legends.

Like the yurts of old, there were a number of separate house units for various purposes, e.g. a storehouse for old images, a hall for preparing *baling* (bali), summer house of the Bandida Hambo Lama, a room for heating the central temple through pipes, etc. A new guest-house was under construction. Most of them are simple wooden structures, in vivid contrast to the central temple whose picturesque architecture, sweetly tinkling bells, and melody of colour lends an overall charm and casts an enchanting spell over the entire monastic complex.

At noon, we were given special Buryat dishes of raisins and the plant *saranta* which has a curious taste as if the Indian *khir* and *mohanbhog* had been blended into a single flavor. The milk dishes were served in wooden utensils, and the spoons too were wooden. The milk dishes pertain to the holy and honoured. In India *homa* also, the utensils and spoons are preferably wooden. The juice of *oblipékha* was served. It is an indigenous Buryat drink from Ayurvedic medicine, a tonic for the lungs. The Bandida Hambo Lama opined that modern medicine should research its properties for heart diseases. Outside, the sky was overcast and a light drizzle lent chill to the breeze. When rain accompanies a guest, it is auspicious, so goes the Buryat saying. The lamas, scientists, officials and interpreters who accompanied us were happy that our visit to the monastery was blessed by rain. The meadows were enlivened by tiny yellow flowers of *nezabutka* or forget-me-nots. These innocent flowerlings reminded us not to forget the inspiring hours spent at the Monastery. The Monastery ever spreads before our eyes and surges anew into the depths of our soul, as Bandida Hambo Lama's smiling face and humour breaks us into peals of laughter.

Besides the Ivolginsky Monastery there are four other monasteries. Guzinozersky is hallowed as the first monastery of Buryatia. It is an architectural monument without any xylographs or manuscripts. So also the Tsugolsky Monastery. In Kiakhta too, there is a monastery which is not functioning now. The Aginsky Monastery in the Chita Autonomous Region is most highly venerated as the former seat of Buryat scholarship and learning which gave to the world scholars like Zamcarano, Tsybikov and Baradiin.

The town of Ivolginsky has a Sovkhoz where tomatoes, cucumber and other vegetables are grown all round the year. Its annual yield is high -- it produces 7000 kilograms of cucumber in every season. All the produce is supplied to the State, which

distributes it to the villages, towns and cities. The glass-houses were unbearably hot inside and the soil virtually consisted of a thick layer of fertilizers.

As the watch reminded us of the vanishing afternoon, we rushed back to Ulan-ude, a distance of about 40 kilometres from the Monastery. In 1940 Buryat artists went to partake in a festival at Moscow. They were highly applauded and it was decided to start a regular theatre at Ulan-ude. The theatre was opened in 1952. Today, there are 400 artists and artistes. Two of them, both Buryats, are the proud recipients of the award of Peoples' Artists of the Soviet Union : Mr. Linkhavoin, an outstanding singer and Madame Sakhianova, the perfect ballerina. Both of them will come to India in September 1967. The Theatre is embellished with the national symbol of *zargule moitom* or the Eternal Bond of Happiness, the śrīvatsa of Sanskrit, one of the eight auspicious emblems (*aṣṭa-maṅgala*). The Buryat theatre had gone out of town. That evening a guest troupe of the Komsomolska on Amur Theatre was presenting a Russian show, directed by Mrs. Ivanova Vasilyevska Aliftina. The Amur city has been inhabited by the Russians since 35 years. Late in the evening we visited the College of Music, with the Deputy Minister of Culture. It trains teachers for schools. There are 25 music schools for children in the Buryat Republic. The College will turn out 36 graduates during the current year. Its students took part in competitions in the East Siberian Zonal Festival and they (the Buryat group) won the first place. Even late at 10.00 p.m. the students were practising and they all scrambled around us to talk about music education in India. They were astonished to hear of the predominance of Classical Indian Music over the modern, inspite of the fact that India had the latest musical fads of the West.

On the morning of 11th June we visited the "Kolkhoz Communisma" whose chairman Mr. Lubsanov gave a detailed account of its activities, took us round the secondary school, the *dom kulturi* or House of Culture, and introduced us to the political secretary Mr. Nikolayev Georgievich Kakorin who was a fine gentleman. Nearby we went to a wooden house where lamps were lit to an altar of Burkhangs. We had the pleasure of visiting the house of a middle-aged lady who had a good number of rare Mongolian Buddhist texts. She knew the importance of every xylograph and discussed with us the merit of every edition. She showed us the Mongol translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra by Agwang Zhimba *alias* Vāgindradāna of the Tsugolsky Monastery. She kindly presented us a bilingual Tibetan-Mongolian edition of the *Lam rim dmar khrid*, and the Aginsky print of the biography of Tson-kha-pa.

In the afternoon we went to inspect the Pioneer Camp "Tuya" (Dawn) belonging to Secondary School No.1 at Ulan-ude. It was situated by the side of the Zaghata Lake

and presented a fascinating setting (Zaghata means "much fish"). In the evening we had dinner with Prof. and Mrs. Baldanzhabov. The Professor showed us several xylographs and manuscripts, including the oldest version of the *Cayan teüke* of which he is preparing a critical edition. We saw the Mongol alphabet-book xylographed at Aginsky and the list of printing-houses of three monasteries. There were the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionaries of Vagindrakalpabhadra of the Aginsky Monastery and Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje's *Mkhas-paḥi ḥbyun-gnas*. There were manuscripts of Sum-pa-mkhan po's Buddhist cosmology, laws of lamaseries, Buryat marriage customs, Mongol grammars, and Mongol chronicles. It was a chance discovery that there was a Yeke Quriye (Urga) edition of the sumbum (collected works) of Bu-ston. Prof. Baldanzhabov had the chojung (complete with the catalogue of the Kanjur and Tanjur) of this edition.

On the 12th of June we visited the Buryat Branch of the Siberian Section of the Academy of Sciences. The Buryat Branch is guided by a Presidium whose Chairman is Prof. Dr. U.V. Makeyev. The geologist Mr. S.A. Gurulyov is the Vice-Chairman. It is divided into four major institutes: Institute of Social Sciences, Institute of Natural Sciences, Institute of Biological Sciences and the Institute of Pedagogics. The Institute of Social Sciences also works on the cultures, history, languages and literatures of the East. We were warmly welcomed at the Buryat Branch by its Vice-Chairman Mr. S.A. Gurulyov. Among those present were Mr. Zandanov, Vice-Director of the Institute of Biological Sciences, the mathematician Mr. Alexander Vasilyevich Bulgadayev the Vice-Director of the Institute of Social Sciences, the sinologist Mrs. E.V. Maltseva, the Tibetanist Mr. R.E. Pubayev Head of the Department of History and Culture of the East, Mr. Tsybikov an expert on the modern culture of Mongolia, and others. The researches of the Buryat Branch are published from Ulan-ude, Novosibirsk, Leningrad and Moscow. While most of the publications are in Russian, some of them are also in Buryat and Mongolian languages. We were also taken round the Institute of Biological Sciences by the Director himself, Mr. Bulgadayev. A new building of the Institute of Natural Sciences is under construction. Surrounded by taiga forests, its calm and quiet setting will be an ideal place for research.

In the afternoon we were taken to the Institute of Social Sciences, where Prof. R.E. Pubayev the Head of the Department of History and Culture of the East, received us in a most cordial manner. He is a specialist of the history of Buddhism. He is translating and annotating the Chronicle of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. He was sorry that he could not obtain my edition of the final portion of Sum-pa-mkhan-po's chojung. Welcoming us he said: "Our best greetings to you on your visit. It will be a step in

strengthening the friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. We are still more pleased to receive such outstanding scholars like you from India. And we feel yet more happy for since long we have known about the work of Prof. Raghu Vira, your father. We are glad to know what is being done at the International Academy of Indian Culture and to establish relations with your Academy. " Mr. Zandanov the Vice-President of the Institute was also present. He is an economist, specialising in the "production power of our economics". Over-looking us was the portrait of the great Buddhologist the late Prof. G.N. Rummyantsev who worked with equal ease in the fields of Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit. At the Institute several scholars are engaged on the history, language and culture of the Buryats. According to Prof. Pubayev, the Institute is investigating "five problems" in orientalistcs:

- (i) *Archaeology*. Before the consolidation of the Buryat people, their ancient tribes were in close connection with Central Asian tribes. These inter-tribal contacts are under study. Mr. Konovalov, an archaeologist, is busy on the early nomad tribes of Buryatia. Mrs. Khamsena is continuing researches on the late nomad tribes of Buryatia. This work on the history of Buryat tribes from the oldest upto the latest period was begun by Prof. Rummyantsev.
- (ii) *Mongolistics*. A history of Mongolian culture up to our day is being compiled by Prof. Baldanzhabov. Two parts on the history of Mongolian culture from the 12th to the 17th centuries will come out in 1968. A project on the history of Inner Mongolia has been initiated this year. Mrs. Maltseva, an expert on modern Chinese literature, is in charge of it. Mr. Tsendenov is collecting data on the contribution of Japanese scholars to Mongolian studies. He is an Aspirant (postgraduate) in the Japanese language. Mr. Bimbadorje Tsybikov, who is the author of a history of the USSR, is preparing a history of Buryatia and the Mongols. Mrs. B.D. Dakasanova is surveying the Mongolian dialects. Mr. Urzhanov is another Mongolist. Mr. Saktoyev is working on Buryat literature. Dr. Ulanov and Mr. Khomanov are engaged on the Buryat versions of the Gesar epic. Mr. Mikhailov has taken up Buryat shamanism. Dr. Asalkhanov is a leading expert in the field of social and economic structure of Siberia. Mr. Naidakov is in charge of the department of the art and culture of Buryatia. Mr. Budayev is a philologist.
- (iii) *Buddhology*. It is a new field added to the research activities of the Institute. The first project would be the publication of the Buddhist terminological dictionary of Lcañ-skyā qutuytu Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje, used for translating the Tanjur into Mongolian. It is in eleven sections. The first two sections on Prajñāpāramitā and Mādhyamika were being readied for photomechanic print. We saw the press-copy written by hand. Dr. Semichov who has

studied Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan under Prof. Stcherbatsky is busy on it. Another Buddhist lexicon on which work is progressing is the quadrilingual Mahāvvyutpatti in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese, brought by Vasilyev from Peking and now preserved at the Leningrad University Library. Dr. Smirnov is engaged in translating it into Russian and English. Mrs. Gerasimova is translating the iconographic tracts from Tibetan. They will be accompanied by illustrations. Mr. Pubayev is translating the chronicles of Sum-pa-mkhan-po into Russian.

(iv) *Tibetology*. Mr. Semichov and Badarayev are assisting the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, Moscow in completing the Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary (with Sanskrit equivalents) started by the late Prof. G.N. Roerich. They urgently need my Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary for the purpose. Mr. Badarayev has almost completed the Russian translation of the Tibetan grammar of Gser-tog. He is also devising a system of transcribing Tibetan into the Cyrillic script. We have already referred to the work of Mr. Pubayev.

(v) *Historical Monuments*. Among them will be published the rich notes of expeditions to the distant parts of the Buryat ASSR and adjacent regions. They will include folklore, which is still being collected by teams of Buryat scholars. The most precious of them, however, are the manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan and Mongolian. The Buryat collections of blockprints in both these languages is sizeable. It is estimated that there would be about 7000 xylographs, excluding the Kanjur. The major project of the Institute in the department for the preservation of historical monuments is the compilation of a descriptive catalogue. During the year, the Institute will concentrate on this project. The Government has evinced great interest in providing funds and additional staff. New scientists will be occupied mainly with the catalogue, under the able guidance of Mr. Semichov. Two fascicules of the *Opisanie Tibetskikh Rukopisei i ksilografov* by B.D. Dandaron appeared from Moscow in 1960 and 1965. The second fascicule comprises the sumbum of Sum-pa-mkhan-po. Further work on the scientific catalogue of Buryat and Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs is continuing. After completing the cataloguing of Tibetica and Mongolica the Institute will become aware of "the treasures we have" and it will take up the most important and unique works for publication. The Director expressed hope that they will be able to enlist the close cooperation of Indian scholars. He presented us several publications of the Institute and informed us that the 4th volume of the *Trudi Buryatskovo Kompleksovo Naučno Issledobatel'skvo Instituta*, dedicated to Stcherbatsky, will appear within this year. The 5th volume, devoted to Vasilyev, is under preparation. We were shown several representative manuscripts, including a Tibetan

Prajñāpāramitā written in gold (*gser-yig*). The 8 volumes of the sumbum (collected works) of Čaqar Lobsang Tshulthim are also preserved. A unicum at the Institute is a complete set of the Mongolian Kanjur written by hand in black and red inks. The alternation of black and red lines differs on various pages. One page had 5 lines of black, followed by 4 lines of red, 6 black lines + 4 red lines + 5 black lines, giving a total of 24 vertical lines per page. This Kanjur was written in the second half of the 19th century.

In the evening we were taken to a 30 minute film on Buddhism in the USSR. It was shown at the Party Committee House, besides the coloured musical comedy "Shepherd's Song." The national ballet "Angara Beauty" with the outstanding Buryat ballerina Sakhianova in the leading role, was also screened.

On the 13th morning we paid a visit to the Republican Hospital with 20 clinical departments, more than 600 beds, and half a dozen of their own helicopters to rush medical help to distant villages in cases of emergency. At 11.00 a.m. our delegation was received by His Excellency Mr. Alexander Sergeyevich Tsirinov, the Vice-President of the Supreme Council of the Buryat ASSR and the Mayor of Ulan-ude. He gave us a most cordial welcome and related the astounding progress made by post-Revolutionary Buryatia. The development of Ulan-ude is phenomenal in all modern aspects. One is wonderstruck that even remote villages share the advantages of electricity, schooling, clothing, medicare, housing, agriculture and other benefits of modernisation.

In the afternoon we paid a visit to the Ethnographic Museum where pre-Revolutionary Buryat life is contrasted vividly against that after the Revolution. A complete yurt of a poor Buryat with its indigenous utensils, dresses and household articles provides a sharp contrast to the yurt of a rich man gorgeously dressed, surrounded by the finest indigenous handicrafts, colorful furniture, and an altar with exquisite burkhans. An itemwise description of the two yurts can provide a peep into nomadic life. The Museum has a huge pot (perhaps an urn) belonging to the third century B.C. and other early objects which are of historic interest. Gigantic images of Āryāvalokiteśvara and Lcam-sriṅ, and an enamelled image of Tsoṅ-kha-pa brought from Tibet are some of the attractions of the Museum. On the first floor, modern development is illustrated through hundreds of photographs, including those of X. Namsaraev the founder of Buryat literature and Tsendenjabov Gombozhab who became the first Peoples' Artist of the USSR on 1 Nov. 1940. At Ulan-ude, there is also the Historical Museum which houses the famous Candan jovo. We hope to visit it next time, as it is of the greatest import for our studies.

In the afternoon with a sad heart we bade goodby to Ulan-ude, and left for Chita, the Capital of the Chita Autonomous Region. The Aeroflot plane flew 5000 - 6000 meters high over the greenly clad mountains. The flying time from Ulan-ude to Chita is 55 minutes and the fare is 10 roubles. We reached Chita at 6.25 p.m. and had our meals at the airport restaurant. From Chita we left by cars to Aginsky. Charming lakes like Lake Kyenon, wooden houses of pre-revolutionary days, the majestically flowing River Ingada, the bracing breeze of the taiga forests--made our drive to Aginsky the finest hours of the trip. At midnight we reached Aginsky, dead tired. We were received in national style with yoghurt and honey in silver spoons from silver vessels. Aginsky is a legend for those who have taken interest in things Buryat, in her thought and her deep traditions. All the great Soviet and early Buddhologists enriched science by drawing upon the inexhaustible manuscript resources and unparalleled scholarship of the lamas of this monastery. Aginsky Datsan is the prime place in Russian Buddhological literature. The Bandida Hambo Lama has lived here all his life, studied here for 16 long years, and it is only for the last four years that he has moved to the Ivolginsky Monastery.

At the Aginsky monastery there are two temples. One of them is the historic temple of 1816 and the second was built in 1846. The second temple is situated at a distance from the first, outside the fence of the present complex. Picturesquely surrounded by pines, it is preserved as a monument of architectural importance. Nowadays it is used as a city sanatorium. Though it was built in 1846, it looks older than the functioning temple of 1816 which has been repainted in recent years.

On the morning of 14th June a special service was held in honour of our delegation. It was performed in the historic temple of 1816. Its entrance door bore the official Tibetan name: *Chos-sde-chen-po bde-chen lhun-grub gliñ*. The 69 year old Deputy Hambo Lama Ghalsan Zhimba Gonchikov presided over the ceremony. About twenty lamas took part. There are nearly thirty lamas at Aginsky, but all could not be present. The Itegel, Sixteen Arhats (naydan), and the stotra to Tsoñ-kha-pa from the *megjem* were recited. The serenity, grace and dignity of the worship amidst the clanging assonance of a variety of instruments scatters its illumination into the turbulences of the psyche.

As we came out of the temple the upper part of the inner side of the door was decorated with a lovely scroll of *bskañ-rdzas*. A large crowd of young and old, children and grownups had gathered outside. Predominantly composed of Buryats, it had a fair sprinkling of Russians some of whom have deep faith in Buddhism. We went around the temple in pradakṣiṇā or circumambulation with the temple to our right. There were a

number of isolated shrinelets providing cover to single stone images of deities. One of them enshrined Simhanāda Avalokiteśvara under which the mantra *Om āḥ hriḥ Simhanāda hūṃ phaṭ* was inscribed in Tibetan, Buryat and Lantsha scripts. A little further lay a stūpa to the former Bandida Hambo Lama, Sharapov Yishidorje, built in 1963. Moving on, the Bandida Hambo Lama showed us a hundred year old Mañjuśrī—a century is a venerable age. A shrinelet covered Čaghan übgen whose Sanskrit name was written down in my diary by an Aginsky lama as *Bhūmipati Jvarasiddha*. A few paces onwards was Acala Mahākāla (*Mi-g.yo mgon-po*).

At the Aginsky Monastery also, the Bandida Hambo Lama has planted the Bodhi and Banyan trees. They have grown in the warmth of a pyechka or Russian heater, from seeds which the Bandida Hambo Lama brought from India in 1956. The banyan tree is *nayagorda* in Buryat, from Sanskrit *nyagrodha*. The Patriarch loves both the trees like his children. Thereafter, we were led to the wooden yurt which is the residence of the Patriarch when he comes to his *alma mater* of Aginsky. To honour a guest in the yurt is a "monument of our national culture." The Bandida Hambo Lama told us of real yurts in the countryside where cattle-keepers live. They have separate winter and summer yurts. He narrated how he had passed his life at Aginsky and how deeply he was attached to this monastery surrounded on all sides by green mountains, and a rivulet that flows by in languid innocence. On 15 March 1967 his 70th anniversary had been celebrated. Every now and then he would roll us into laughter with anecdotes of his travels.

In the afternoon we visited the library of the Aginsky Monastery, situated on the second storey of the functioning temple. A steep and narrow wooden staircase led to the library. In the centre was the architectonic maṇḍala of Yamāntaka. A huge wooden *ganḍi* attracted our attention. It was made of *aguru* and sandal woods and was used to summon the people to the temple. All around, texts were stacked in colourful wooden shelves. The Aginsky Monastery has always been famous for its blockprints and they are prized treasures throughout the world of scholarship. To see hundreds of these priceless riches assembled at one place seemed unbelievable. In passing, we may mention that Lobsang dorje *alias* Sumativajra the VII Khampo of Aginsky wrote many works in Mongolian. All of them have been collected together in a sumbum. It was so popular that two editions were xylographed, one of them at Aginsky. We were able to get this sumbum along with its catalogue. There was a 34 folio chronicle of India, Tibet, Śambhala and China entitled *Chos-ḥbyuṃ mdor-bsdus dzi-kṣa-maḥi me-loṇi zhes-bya -ba bzhugs-so*. There was also the rare Hor chojung of Dharmatāla in 281 folios. The sumbum of Śes-rab-rgya-mtsho in ten volumes, fairy tales in Mongolian, *yang-yig* or manuscripts of musical scores of worship,

medical texts, philosophical treatises of the Gomang yigcha and hundreds of other subjects adorn the library. Big silken scrolls of the maṇḍalas of Āryāvalokiteśvara, Sukhāvati and Akṣobhya decorated the walls. The librarian Lama Zhimba Jamso Erdeniyev is an old scholar of immense learning. He loves the books dearly.

At 4.00 p.m. we saw the breath-taking storage-collections of thaṅkas at Aginsky. At 5.00 we were given a farewell reception by the Deputy Hambo Lama who said: "We are very glad that you have visited this distant corner of the world. We are happy much more so, as you come from the country of the origin of Buddhism. On 7th December 1966 we observed the 150th anniversary of this Temple. May the friendship between India and the USSR always flourish. Our most cherished wish is that there may always be peace all over the world. We wish that you may come here again and again, any time you like. We wish you a happy journey and every success in your excellent doings. *Bkra-śis śog.*" At 6.00 p.m. we left Aginsky, with heavy hearts and arms heavier still, laden with gifts of varied description. The main gate of the monastic complex bore the Lantsha inscription: *Om padmoṣṇiṣavimale hūṃ phaṭ.* The Zulus mountains flanked us on the left while Bandida Hambo Lama Jambal dorje blessed our sād, tiresome return to Chita, en route to Irkutsk, Ulanbator, Leningrad and Moscow. We were fast flitting across this remote world of the Buryats, which had rippled before our gaze, to be lost again into looming horizons. The verdant mountains, the inviting taiga forests, the tranquil waters, and the fresh breeze -- a twin sister to the spring -- all had greeted us tenderly. The romance of the hard nomadic life has passed. Now it is replaced by life's deep, warm realities. Everywhere there were banners proclaiming *slava* or glory to mighty achievements of the Soviets. Let us add another *slava* to the great Soviet Union for preserving the historical monuments of the Buryat world of illumined thought and spiritual awareness.

43. CULTURAL RELATIONS OF INDIA AND SIBERIA

Warm hearts in freezing Siberia. Siberia is a land of cold, freezing cold. Its winter is severer than the proverbial winter of Moscow. In June 1967 the Siberian Patriarch His Holiness Bandida Hambo invited us (Dr. Sharada Rani, Shri Kailash Chandra and myself) to renew the ties between our peoples which had been in abeyance for centuries. We flew from Delhi to Moscow, our first stop. It was a flight of six hours. We stayed there overnight. From Moscow to the city of Irkutsk was a flight of another eight hours. You can imagine the sheer distances of these places. At Irkutsk we spent a sleepless night because the planes were always buzzing in. From here to Ulan-ude was a flight of an hour and a half. Ulan-ude is the capital of the Siberian republic called the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Even in summer, the car had to be heated. The heating pipes went to every part and they operated throughout the journey. Amidst such an intensity of climatic cold, the hearts of the people flowed in deep warmth towards us, the sons and a daughter of the Holy Land, India.

Baikal i.e. vaḍavānala. Baikal Lake forms an outstanding geographical feature of Siberia. The Trans-Baikalian parts are inhabited by Buryat tribes. Today the Buryat tribes are mainly concentrated in the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic with an area of 135,136 square miles. Predominantly mountainous, it has inviting taiga forests, tranquil waters, and above all monasteries with xylographs, manuscripts, icons and painted scrolls which speak of historic relations with Indian culture. The name of Baikal itself is split up as *bai* 'existing, being, having' *kal* 'fire'. In this context we may recall the Sanskrit concept of vaḍavānala, the submarine fire of the lower regions, fabled to emerge from a cavity called the "mare's mouth" under the sea.

Sanskrit names. On reaching Ulan-ude we were taken to a hotel. We were welcomed by the Patriarch. There came Professor Baldanzhab, alongwith his son. The Professor took pleasure in telling the Sanskrit equivalents of Buryat names. The name of the Professor's son was *Sokto*. It was his Buryat name. I asked the Professor as to what it meant. He said that its ancient pronunciation was *Cotu* as found in manuscripts. As it happens in every language, the sounds and forms of words change with the passing of time. He said that it refers to the name of the Goddess Śrīdevī in her serene form. Then I asked the Professor whether he know his own Sanskrit name. It was a word which was homonymous with Devīrakṣita - *Baldan* is Śrīdevī and *zhab* means one protected by her. Such is the history of every Buryat name. The name of the Patriarch was Jambal-dorje.

This again goes back to Sanskrit, like most Buryat names. Jambal-dorje is a translation of Mañjuśrī-vajra.

The Siberian Patriarch reveres the Holy Water of Ganga. Our journey to Siberia was a mission of friendship, a mission to renew our common ancient traditions, and to instil a new significance into them as well as to carry the Holy Water of the Ganga. For the last few centuries the Siberian Buryats have not seen the Holy Water. They have substituted the water of Ganga by that of Lake Baikal. They say that the water of Lake Baikal can last up to ten years if kept along with its pebbles and for five years without them. I have myself brought the water of this 'Siberian Ganga' if we may so term it. The Buryats wanted to be blessed again by the Holy Water of Ganga, and that too auspiciously by the sons and daughters of India. One evening we offered the Holy Ganga Water to the Patriarch with due ceremony. It was already fast approaching night, the hour of non-substantiality. With the Buryats Dharma is not only a ritual but an evocation. It is the finesse of life. The vessel containing *Gangin os* or *Gaṅgā-jala*, must be commensurate with the profundity of the object it carries. Before receiving the water the Patriarch recited Sanskrit mantras, visibly moved. It was a historic moment in his life. The Patriarch went on reciting Sanskrit mantras while *Gaṅgā-jala* was being poured from the Indian to the Buryat vessel. When some drops fell into the tray I was wondering as to what could he do with them. He paid due homage to the fallen drops and poured them into his vessel. Such is the reverence for the water of Ganga in these remote parts of the inhabited world. There is hardly a country in Asia which does not revere Ganga. If the Holy Water is not available, then the water of indigenous rivers is converted into Ganga Water by specific *sādhana*s. It is a special genre of worship in Asian countries. Likewise the Siberian Buryats convert their water of Baikal into Ganga Water by offerings and mantras.

Music of Mahākāla in the space and silence of Siberia. We visited a monastery which was constructed in the forties. It is called the Ivolginsky Monastery. It is situated in fascinating surroundings. Siberia is a land of space and silence. You travel in a car for miles and miles and find only four or five yurts or tent houses. The distances are endless. The expansive horizons, the cool breeze, the dark green taiga forests with huge trees are the poetry of its nature. The Ivolginsky Monastery lies in such surroundings. Here we were welcomed with due ceremonies. Different types of instruments were played. The music reminded us of the temple music of India. It seems that religious music is played in tunes that originate ultimately in India. Every deity has a musical score of its own. The score of Mahākāla was played for us.

The traditions of Nalanda in Siberian monasteries. Once Siberia had 33 monasteries around Lake Baikal, which forms a central geographical feature of the area. They continued studies in the traditions of Nalanda. Though Nalanda ceased to exist centuries ago, its atmosphere survived in the monastic universities of Siberia, Mongolia and Tibet. The Siberian monastic universities had four faculties: (i) Philosophy, (ii) Tantra, (iii) Jyautiṣa (or Kālacakra), and (iv) Āyurveda. The texts studied in them had been translated from or are inspired by Sanskrit. To this day, some of these books are preserved in the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences. These universities no longer teach these subjects. They have perished in the turmoil of the Revolution. Two monasteries have been renovated. It was auspicious to be in places where once saṃskāras were alive.

Scroll paintings in sacrosanct saffron. The monasteries are replete with scroll paintings. Their covering silk is of saffron color, which shows that it is consecrated and to be kept only at the temple altar. This colour is not meant for a householder, and yet the Patriarch gave me such a scroll of Kālacakra as belonging to a family of sādhas. It depicts the deity holding various āyudhas or weapons, eloquent with power. They have a philosophical meaning, a symbolic significance. The consecration of this scroll was done at the Aginsky Monastery deep in the heart of Siberia. Aginsky was the prime monastery, famous for its high academic standards. It was the Nalanda of Siberia. The Sanskrit texts preserved here are remarkably accurate and every Siberian reveres it.

'White Food' on pūrṇimā. The Siberian Buryats are pure meat-eaters. As you enter their kitchen you are sure to get nausea. Even these Buryats abstain from meat on holy days of pūrṇimā and amāvasyā. Now customs are fast changing, but the older generation follows the practice. They take 'white food', which means milk preparations. A guest is still honoured with madhuparka. It consists of milk products like yoghurt, honey and other ingredients. For the first time in my life I was honoured with madhuparka at the Ivolginsky Monastery and it was an exciting experience. They also offered us certain vegetarian dishes which had emanated from Indian ācāryas who were in these parts in the seventeenth century. Two ācāryas had gone there, perhaps via Nepal. Besides India's culinary art, they carried with them interesting tales. In the deeps of Siberia, in remote yurts protected by ferocious dogs, you can still hear these stories being recounted around fires. They are the stories of King Bhoja. Rājā Bhoja is pronounced Arji Burji. If you tell them that you have come from the land of Arji Burji they are delighted beyond measure.

O the goddesses sing thus in heaven ! A special pūjā was performed in honour of our visit. Amidst the clanging of sonorous instruments, in the cold of the entire

atmosphere, we heard a hymn to Mahākāla, a favourite deity of the Buryats. Mahākāla seems to pervade these desolated vastnesses. We also heard other stotras recited in Sanskrit and in Buryat translations. The Buryats have tried to preserve the accuracy of Sanskrit stotras and their correct pronunciation. The Patriarch insisted that my wife sing a stotra. Which stotra was the question? He wanted to hear a stotra which they also recite. He went in and brought the xylograph of a hymn to Tārās. I have printed it in original Buryat and Sanskrit. It consists of twentyone stanzas to Tārā in the Buryat language and in Sanskrit. My wife recited a śloka from it:

नमस्तूतार-हूँकार-पूरिताशा-दिगन्तरे /
सप्त-लोक-क्रमाक्रान्त अशेषकर्षण-क्षमे //

Dharma does not stand for unqualified ahimsā, for docility against tyranny. Righteous *manyu* is an essential of Dharma. God is *sat* and *asat*. *Sad-asac-cāham* says Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad-Gītā. Śiva is Rudra. Likewise in Buryatia, the deities have a śānta form and a rudra or ferocious form. In the following śloka, the rudra aspect of Tārā is depicted powerfully:

नमः करतलाघात-चरणाहत-भूतले /
भृकुटी-हूँकार-सप्त-पाताल-नाशिनि //

The 21st stanza integrates Śiva-Śakti into Tārā:

नमस्त्रितल-विन्यासे शिव-शक्ति-समन्विते/
ग्रह-वेताल-यक्षाद्य-नाशिनि प्रवरे तुरे //

The stotra ends with a phala-śruti. When my wife completed the recitation of the stotra the Patriarch was moved, his eyes half closed in meditation. He said : "O! the goddessess in heaven must be singing Sanskrit ślokas in this way". The ecstasy is not past history but a part of their living life. For centuries the Siberian Buryats have preserved not only this stotra to Tārā, but nearly seven thousand texts, an entire literature inspired by India. They are kept at the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences.

Blessings on the triple planes of kāya, vāk and citta. The Patriarch blessed me for a long life. The mantras were in Sanskrit. The entire rite and frame of mind was Sanskritic. The blessing was performed in its fullness, on the three planes of kāya, vāk

and citta. The kāya plane is the physical plane, the plane of the vāk is the verbal plane, and plane of the citta or mind is the highest. Every plane is blessed by Sanskrit mantras, and moreover, every plane is represented in some concrete way. The plane of kāya is concretised by a painting of Ayushi whose *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* has been performed. This painting was given to me. It was not only a painting but a living manifestation, a *prāṇa*. For the plane of vāk or the verbal plane, he gave me a manuscript of the *Ayushi-stotra*. To represent the blessings of the highest plane of citta, the mind, he gave me a consecrated Caitya. The gold used in the painting of Ayushi, the deity of *āyusya*, the God of Long Life, is as pure as possible. Every painting is done with the chanting of mantras. Each and every part of it is painted on an auspicious day. The eyes are painted, for instance, on a fullmoon day because the eyes must be as beautiful as the full moon. From its general colouring pattern to its abstruse symbolism the painting is so very Indian.

Special script manuals for writing mantras. The monasteries had special manuals for teaching the writing of mantras and bījas. I have brought one such Alikali. It contains three scripts used in Siberia. Besides the normal script used for secular purposes, it also gives the script used for writing Sanskrit mantras. If a mantra is to be really efficacious it has to be written in the ancient ornamental script called Rañjanā, which is based on a script of the Gupta period. The primer is called Ali-kali, *ali* representing the letters beginning with *a* that is vowels, and *kali* representing the letters beginning with *ka* i.e. consonants. This manuscript is dated to the 17th century.

Meghadūta in Siberia. I met a scholar of the history of Buryat literature. He said that the first lyric in his language is the Meghadūta, which was translated from Sanskrit. They have folk poetry which is earlier but the Meghadūta forms their earliest written kāvya. They have also a translation of the Kāvyaḍarśa. They have not only the translation, but also commentaries citing instances from their own language, because the translation of the Kāvyaḍarśa illustrates only from Sanskrit, whose assonances, alliteration and the like are lost in translation. So how can they sense the flow and subtle nuances of poetry in its translated form? The alternative left is to cite examples from their own literature. That is what they have done in their autochthonous commentaries. Now they are trying to understand the Kāvyaḍarśa. I have sent them a few Sanskrit editions with English translations.

Pāṇini's grammar in Siberia. We visited the Institute where researches are conducted on language and history, art and architecture, in fact on all branches of the humanities and the natural sciences. I asked one of the young Buryat scholars as to what was his field of interest He said 'grammar'. 'In which particular aspect of grammar are

you interested ? ' I asked. He replied 'I am writing a history of Buryat grammar'. 'Which grammarian have you chosen? ' 'The first Buryat grammarian'. 'What is his name?' 'He is Choki-otser' he replied. This name can be translated as Dharmaraśmi in Sanskrit. He had written a Buryat grammar in the 14th century. His grammar is modelled on that of Pāṇini. Centuries ago, they translated the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini with its commentary Prakriyā-kaumudī. Their scholars have kept writing résumés and commentaries of Pāṇini. One of the commentaries was a thick xylograph. It must have been about 1500 pages. This exegesis on Pāṇini evidences their keen interest in Sanskrit grammatical studies. The young Buryat scholar put me a fundamental question: 'Why are there only four parts of speech in the grammar which we have inherited from you and not seven parts as in European grammar ?' This question indicates that the Buryats are taking renewed interest in the indigenous grammatical tradition.

Influence of Sanskrit on the formation of the Classical Buryat language. While philosophical and religious literature is out of bounds, the only classical domains of study left to them are grammar and lexicography. A scholar told me that he was working on a Sanskrit-Tibetan-Buryat dictionary, called the Mahāvyutpatti. It contains 9565 words, compounds and phrases. It is clear that the Classical Buryat language is inspired by Sanskrit. Just as in Sanskrit we have prefixes to denote semantic shades, the Buryats have also evolved such prefixes. Thus in linguistics they have intimate connections with Sanskrit, our common Holy Language. To understand the history of the evolution of the Classical Buryat language, they have to analyse Sanskrit.

Siberians eager to study Sanskrit. According to official reports there are half a million people who adhere to their age-long faith, which is a mixture of Buddhism, Tantrism, Śaivism and other 'ways' (yāna) that has travelled there from this country. It is a syncretic faith, wherein India is the Holy Land, Sanskrit the divine language as mantras are recited in it, and every child has some saṁskāra. These half-a-million people look towards India for academic and cultural relations. They are keen to start Sanskrit studies in their colleges. Some even want to study technical texts like the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa in Āyurveda, which was translated in their language centuries ago.

Āyurveda in Siberia. Āyurveda is a living element of Buryat life. They term it 'national medicine'. From Siberia this national medicine travelled to European Russia. During the early part of the century, at Leningrad there was a famous Siberian doctor, Badmayef by name. His name is Sanskrit Padma with the Russian suffix °yef. He had also been summoned to treat Stalin. During the pruges he was liquidated and Āyurveda went into oblivion. For the last few years researches on Siberian Āyurveda have been

going on. I have brought two xylographs from Siberia about their medicinal system. They illustrate every herb, mineral and animal mentioned in Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. It is the first time in the history of Āyurveda that its complete materia medica has been illustrated. Its tradition goes back to the eighth century. The illustrations of anatomical details and surgical instruments referred to by Suśruta are unique.

In the *Tobci* it is recorded that the Buryat Cossacks who had been reared in pure and free air and nursed on milk products, began to fall ill in the closed soldiers' barracks at Irkutsk in 1869 and were stricken with various diseases and died. Medicines of Russian doctors were of no avail and the intelligent commanders called Lama doctors to aid, who treated the sick with Ayurvedic medicines. For this purpose, the Stad Lama of Jighasutai monastery and the Lama of Buyantu-yin Dangjan were invited. News of the knowledge of this Lama reached the highest quarters and he was awarded a silver medal.

Indra and Agni in Shaman songs. The pre-Buddhist cult of the Siberian Buryats was Shamanism where elements of nature and topographic edifications were freely fused with Shaman songs extolling Indra, Agni and other Indian deities. These fascinating songs were prevalent only half a century ago. Now they are known from Prof. Zamcarano's collections done in the early part of this century.

Beginnings of pūjā and monasteries. The handwritten manuscript *Jirghughan otugh, naiman ecige-yin tobci domugh* (subsequently abbreviated to *Tobci*) gives a brief history of the six tribes and eight clans of the Buryats, and also the introduction of Vajrayāna Buddhism among them by the influx of Mongolian refugees beginning in the year 1660. The refugees brought with them statues of the Buddha. A small number of Buddhist monks also came here but they were obliged to reckon with the spirits of mountains and rivers following the local custom. The *Tobci* records that the Buryat tribes became citizens of Russia on 16th January 1689. In 1701, Lama Sanjai of Qurlad of the Podghorodna tribe appeared on the western bank of the river Kimni and performed *pūjā*. In the same year (1701) Andaqai organised a religious congregation in the domain of Kimni. By the end of the 17th century Buddhism was firmly entrenched among the Siberian Buryats.

In 1720 appeared 100 Mongolian and 50 Tibetan Lamas, in all 150. They came in small groups. Everywhere they started teaching the recitation of sutras and giving religious precepts. In 1736, the Tibetan religious teacher Rabjamba Lama constructed a tent temple for people of the three tribes (Sartul, Tabunangghud and Ataghan). The same was done by Lamas everywhere and the local authorities appreciated these activities. By 1752, the 150 lamas were exempted from tax and were declared fullfledged Lamas. The

temple in Kimni continued to exist for more than ten years, then the Lamas scattered, and Sangjai Lama died in Kolung. The Tangghud Aghvangpuncugh Noyan Lama went to Bultamur where he constructed a monastery.

Monastery modelling the Sumeru Mountain and the Four Dvīpas. In 1725 Jaya Lama went to Baraghun juu (i.e. Lhasa) to study Buddhism. He got his education at the Gomang and Ratod monasteries. He was fully ordained as a bhikṣu by the Seventh Dalai Lama. When the two illustrious preceptors (Panchen and Dalai Lamas) were asked about establishing a monastery in Buryatia and spreading the Dharma, Panchen Lama graciously handed over his conical mitre-shaped pandita-cap, and the Holy Dalai Lama is said to have made a black drawing and handed it over with the words: 'If you have to construct a monastery then it should have the form of the Samye monastery, modelling the Sumeru mountain and the four dvīpas, with five peaks'. He returned to his country in 1740 loaded with objects of worship, such as statues and scriptures. At this time the Noyan Lama Phunchog had organised a religious assembly where two entire tribes Tobunangghud and Congghol were present. In the discussion (*śāstrārtha*) between the two Lamas, the Noyan Lama was defeated. He invited Jaya Lama to the high seat, conferred on him the maṇḍala, and honoured him with the title "Master of Dharma".

Śrīdevī or Kālī in Siberia. In the 1740's Jimba the son of Aghaldai finished his education at Ton-khor Mañjuśrī Monastery, returned to his country, and built a monastery. Asking for permission to spread the Dharma, he got the command: 'Enter the temple of the Lord, and bring a *pothi* or holy book and a painted scroll'. He did as ordered. When the holy book was examined, it turned out to be *Saṅs-rgyas-mchagbum* and when the painting was examined, it turned out to be Śrīdevī (Ökin tngri). Jimba Lama thought that the right (or west) side of the Kolung lake was beautiful, but not being able to undertake the venture by himself alone, he sought the discipleship of Jaya Lama. In order to have the monastery site tested, he invited both Jaya Lama and Baghatur-un sanjudba.

Jaya Lama is elected to the Council of Moscow in 1760 to strengthen Dharma. In the 1760's, a deputy was taken from each *ayimagh*. Jaya expressed his desire to become a deputy, for that would strengthen the Dharma. The people elected him with enthusiasm and sent him to Moscow. In the Council of Moscow, the deputies did not agree with each other and dispersed. Jaya Lama, presented the letters of Panchen and Dalai Lamas, communicated the news of Tibet and adjacent regions, and offered gifts from Tibet to the Czar. In return, Jaya Lama got sanction to spread the Dharma in Buryatia and was himself confirmed as the *Sasin-u ejen Deputad Khampo*.

• *Buddhist Patriarch of Siberia.* Jimba Lama was subsequently appointed as the commanding Pandita Lama of the five monasteries of the Selenge region after Jaya Khampo Lama attained nirvāṇa in 1777 in his 67th year. The title Pandita of his teacher Aghaldai-yin Jimba and the title Khampo of the Congghol Deputy Khampo, were unified into *Buriyad-un Sasin-u ejen Pandita Khampo Lama*, and this title and position has continued till today. Special sanctity has ever since been attached to the monastery of the Pandita Khampo Lama as the Buddhist Patriarch of Siberia. In 1870 a gigantic statue of Maitreya, measuring 44 cubits was installed at his monastery. In 1882 the queen of the Torghuds came here for worship and got the consecration of the Kālacakra. To this day the Pandita Khampo Lama is held in great esteem. The present Patriarch in His Holiness Jambal Dorje Gomboev.

Epoch of the construction of monasteries. The years 1744 to 1838 were a period of construction of monasteries. In 1744 the Congghol monastery was erected with Mahākāla as its presiding deity. In 1816 was founded the Aginsky monastery which became the foremost seat of learning in Siberia. It has survived to this day. The major monasteries were 33 in number and they had 50,000 xylographic blocks for printing 1696 Buddhist texts and woodcut illustrations. A manuscript of 1911 from the archives of the Patriarch details the 33 monasteries.

Madhuparka, aṣṭamaṅgala and Gaṇapati in Siberia. Though short in time-span, the process of acculturation has produced a deep impress on the Buryat mind. Still the monasteries welcome you with yoghurt mixed with honey and milk, that is the Sanskrit *madhuparka*. The *aṣṭamaṅgala* emblems embellish the walls of temples. The 101 huge tomes of the Kanjur are the pearl of their literature, comprising over a thousand texts translated from Sanskrit. Every text opens with *Enekeg-ün kele-ber* 'in the language of India, i.e. in Sanskrit'. I have brought 14 texts on Gaṇapati. One of them is *Ārya-gaṇapati-stuti*, written by the great Siddha Kāṇhapāda. Another small manuscript on the *Mahāvināyaka-rūpa-upadeśa* which deals with the contemplative form of Mahāvināyaka.

Śilpa texts in Siberia. The monasteries abound in artistic treasures of murals and painted scrolls. There are special śilpa texts for sketching and colouring the deities in accordance with the injunctions of śāstras. A scroll of Sarasvatī hangs in the Aginsky monastery.

Rāmāyaṇa in Siberia. The Research Institute of the Siberian Branch of the Academy of Sciences has the manuscript of Prof. Golstunsky's work on a short version of the Rāmāyaṇa in the Kalmyk language.

Siberians want to see the lotuses on which Gods sit or stand. The statues of gods and goddesses sit or stand on a lotus seat, called *pema*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *padma*. A Buryat delegation came to India in 1968. They wanted to see the large lotuses on which gods can sit or stand. In the search that followed, the lotus was not to be found anywhere in Delhi. They visited the Buddha Jayanti Park at Delhi where they expected to find lotuses, but were disappointed. At last one of them remarked with disgust that nowhere could he find an Indian flower; all around the parks of Delhi he saw European flowers. Then I took them to Hrishikesh where they could see Ayurvedic trees. Here they found to their joy all the three trees whose fruits constitute the *triphalā*. *Arura* is their term for *haritaki*, *barura* for *bhibhitaka* and *churura* for *āmalaka*. When I narrated this incident to a Union Minister he was astonished to learn that even flowers could be Indian or non-Indian! Hundreds of foreigners visit India everyday. Some want to see Indian flowers. But here they see only the flowers of England. Even our flowers have been victims of imperialism. England subjugated us not only in politics, language, and culture but in every field of national expression. Flowers have not been exempt from this domination.

To Siberia, India is the embodied Divine. Freezing Siberia is a land where monasteries had the academic traditions of Nalanda, where Sanskrit names are still prevalent, where the Holy Water of Ganga is deeply revered, where mantras ring forth in the immensities of space and silence, where you may witness the madhuparka offered with wooden spoons in the true tradition of the śruti, where pūrṇimā and amāvasyā are holy days with 'white food', where Mahākālā pervades the primaeval vastnesses, where stotras to Goddess Tārā are hummed amidst the clanging of sonorous instruments, where Pāṇini is the model for linguistic development, where Meghadūta is the first lyric, where Āyurveda is revealed in the fullness of its tradition, where an entire literature inspired by India is preserved, where blessings are given on the triple planes of *kāya*, *vāk* and *citta*, where saffron is the colour of sanctity, where mantras are still written in the ornamental Indic script termed Rañjanā, where pure gold illumines large scroll paintings, where people wonder at the size of India's lotuses on which their Gods and Goddesses sit or stand, and so on. To Transbaikalian Siberia, India is the glorious radiance in the thickest darkness of materialism, the *cittam prakṛti-prabhāsvaram*, the embodied Divine.

44. CULTURAL INTERFLOW BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA

The last twentythree centuries have seen a continuing cultural interflow between the Western Paradise that is India and the Celestial Kingdom that is China. The rustling breeze of Buddhist fragrance has awakened the mindscape of both countries, endowing them with the web of thought, the harmony of art, the magnificent colour of murals and sculptures, incarnating a new life and sinking into the sensitivities of our peoples deep-reaching muscles of mystery, draped in the intimacy of the mind. The first contacts were made by Buddhist scholars from India who appeared in the Chinese capital in 217 B.C. under the Tsin dynasty. Contacts during the Tsin dynasty are a fair possibility as the Sanskrit word for Cathay is *China*, as such was the dynastic name Tsin heard by the Indians.

In 138 B.C. Chang Ch'ien was an envoy of the Chinese Emperor to India. He took back musical instruments and Mahā-Tukhāra melodies to the Chinese capital Ch'ang-an. The son-in-law of the Emperor Wu-ti wrote 28 new tunes based on this melody which were played as military music. Along with Buddhism, the Serindians introduced milk to China. The Chinese ideograph *lo*, pronounced *lak* in ancient times, which meant various kinds of fermented milk products, was a loan from Indo-European (Latin *lac-tic*).

The Yuechi rulers presented Sanskrit texts to the Chinese court in 2 B.C. The first historically owned Buddhist masters arrived in China in A.D.67. The Han Emperor Ming-ti dreamt of a golden person. On enquiry from his courtiers he learnt that He was the Buddha. He sent ambassadors to the West (i.e. India) to invite Buddhist teachers. They returned with Dharmarakṣa and Kāśyapa Mātāṅga. They arrived on white horses laden with scriptures and sacred relics. The first Buddhist monastery was built for them on Imperial orders and it came to be known as "The White Horse Monastery" (Po-ma-sse). They wrote "The Sutra of 42 Sections" to provide a guide to the ideas of Buddhism and to the conduct of monks. This monastery exists to this day and the cenotaphs of the two Indian teachers can be seen in its precincts.

In the reign of Kanīṣka, bilateral relations entered a new phase in economic, political and cultural domains. Kanīṣka as the greatest of Kushan emperors symbolised his international status by the adoption of four titles: Devaputra or Son of Heaven from China, Shaonana Shao or King of Kings from Persia, Kaisara or Caesar from Rome, and Mahārāja of India, signifying the imperial dignity of the four superpowers of the time: China, Persia, Rome, and India. He played a major role in the dissemination of

Buddhism to China. The policy of cultural internationalism enunciated by Aśoka found its prime efflorescence in the reign of Kaniṣka. Hsüan-tsang relates that Kaniṣka defeated the Chinese in Central Asia and Chinese princes were sent as hostages. Territories were allotted to them in Panjab which were known as *Cīna-bhukti*, an area that Hsüan-tsang visited in the seventh century. Now it is a village Chiniyari near Amritsar, and Chiniot from *Cīnakoṭa*. The Chinese princes introduced two new fruits to India: the peach and the pear. They came to be known respectively as *cīnānī* and *cīnarājaputra* which means "Peach the Chinese Princess" and "Pear the Chinese Prince".

Paper had been manufactured out of cotton in India, and out of silk in Han China. With the introduction of Buddhism cotton also became a component of paper, as is evident from the old lexicon entitled Ku-chin tzu-ku where the silk radical of the character for paper is replaced by the radical for cotton. Cotton cultivation had been introduced from Kashmir and Bengal to China as early as the second century B.C.

The translation of the first Sanskrit sutra into Chinese is by An Shih-kao in the middle of the second century. He was a Parthian prince turned Buddhist monk. He had abdicated the throne in favour of his uncle to take up the robes. A number of his translations survive. He founded a school of translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, which was hailed by the Chinese literati as "unrivalled". Among his associates were bhikṣus from Sogdiana (corresponding to modern Samarkand and Bokhara) known as Uttarāpatha or "Northern India" in Chinese historical works. The name of Khang Seng-hui from Sogdiana stands out as a master of Sino-Indian literature and as one who preached in South China in a systematic manner. He translated even a short Rāmāyaṇa into Chinese.

Kumārajīva, born of an Indian father and a Kuchean princess, educated in Kashmir and Kashgar, was a scholar of great reputation. He reached Ch'ang-an in 401 and worked till A.D.412. He translated 106 works into Chinese. Most outstanding is his Chinese translation of the Sanskrit text entitled Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, known for short as the "Lotus Sutra". He is one of the most outstanding stylists of Chinese prose. He is the only Indian whose Chinese diction has been hailed over the centuries by Chinese men of letters.

The Lotus Sutra is at once a great work of literature and a profound religious classic, containing the core and culmination of Buddha's ageless teaching of compassion and the way to achieve liberation from suffering. For more than fourteen hundred years, it has been a rich source of themes for art. Generations of monks, nuns, and lay believers confident in the sutra's promise of spiritual reward for those who revere it and pay it

homage have made opulent transcriptions of it, fashioned lavishly ornamented caskets for its preservation, and commissioned votive art depicting its narratives and religious teachings. The range of artistic expression inspired by the Lotus Sutra is astonishing.

China has many grottoes that rival Ajanta in their synthesis of Indian suppleness, Hellenic elegance and Chinese grace. The Yun-kang caves were excavated between 414 and 520 under Wei rulers. Fiftythree caves remain till this day and contain over fiftyone thousand statues. It is one of the largest groups of stone cave temples in China. After the first Wei capital Tatung was transferred to Loyang in 494 work commenced on Lung-men. Sculpting went on for 400 years till the T'ang dynasty. It has around 1,00,000 statues; the highest is 55 feet high. It is a treasure-house of China's heritage of sculpture.

On the ancient Han frontiers, in the vast deserts of Inner Asia lies the sandy city of Tung-huang, the 'Blazing Beacon'. In this tiny oasis are the sacred grottos of Ch'ien Fo Tung or 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', carved into a rocky cliff rising aside a meandering rivulet. The walls of these Caves are covered by murals of surpassing beauty, with the largest array of authentic paintings extending over several dynasties: a task of sixteen centuries. It has ever been the sacred oasis, one of the glories of Buddhism. A stone tablet of the T'ang dynasty states that the first 'Cave of Unequalled Height' was constructed by an Indian monk in 366 A.D., increasing upto 460 caves as faith continued to inspire radiant visions.

Divine musical instruments are played to which heavenly angels or apsaras dance in Sukhāvati the resplendent Western Paradise of Amitābha. The flying goddesses from cave 321, which belongs to the golden age of Early T'ang (618-741 A.D.) are unique. The sensuous tenderness of the body, the delicate flowing lines of drapery, the joyous colours, garments vibrating with the rhythm of space : mirror the vigorous culture of Serindia. Bearing in their hands trays of fruits and flowers, arrested as it were in their stately flight for a moment, they seem to bid the onlooker to accompany them into worlds of luminous beauty.

Armies, manuscripts and scholars are allies in China. In the beginning of the seventh century after a military expedition to Champa, the Chinese army returned with a rich booty of 1350 Buddhist manuscripts among other things. They were all of Indian origin.

During the T'ang dynasty Indian astronomers served on the Imperial Board for the purpose. Three Indian astronomical schools of Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra were known at Ch'ang-an in the seventh century. More accurate calendars were prepared anew

by Indian astronomers. Sanskrit mathematical works were translated into Chinese which are lost.

A few hundred Indian teachers went to China from the first to the twelfth century. They have bequeathed a legacy of about 3,000 works translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. We may mention a couple of them: Guṇavarman a prince of Kashmir who reached Nanking in A.D. 431; Buddhābhadda, born at Nāgarahāra, claimed direct descent from Amṛtodana, the uncle of Lord Buddha. Nāgarahāra is modern Jalalabad. He died in China in 429. Bodhiruci was from south India. A Chinese envoy came to the Chalukya court in A.D. 692 to invite Bodhiruci. He reached China in 693 by sea and translated Sanskrit works. One of the last outstanding Indian teachers in China was Dharmadeva of Nalanda. He was received by the Chinese Emperor in 973.

The Chinese pilgrims to India like Fa-hsien, Hsüan-tsang, Wang Hsüan-tso, I-tsing, and others have bequeathed historic records which are invaluable for the understanding of the cultural and political history of India. I-tsing has left short bio-sketches of 60 eminent Chinese monks who visited India. In 964, three hundred Chinese monks started for India, to pay Imperial homage to the holy places. They set up five Chinese inscriptions at Bodhgaya. One of the inscriptions ends: "I now make use of the eulogy of the marvellous excellence of the three bodies and the sculptures that I have executed of the extraordinary acts of the Thousand Buddhas, in order to secure the prosperity of the glorious sovereign of my country and to offer to him for many years a holy longevity".

Indian scholars were honoured guests as late as the Ming. Paṇḍita Sahajāśrī led a twelve-member Indian Buddhist delegation to China. He was received by the Yüan and Ming emperors in 1364 and 1371. He was from a kṣatriya family of Kapilavastu. His status and privilege placed him in a position to soften the autocratic temper of the emperor. Recently a blue and white jar of the Xuande period (1426-1435) has been discovered with Sanskrit mantras all around: *divā svasti svasti madhyandine...* It seeks good fortune by day, by midday, by night: at all times.

The long and time-honoured contacts have been mature time, reverberating in a subtle interweave of thought, ritual, legend and art. They are symbolic of the deeps of hearts that have never been too subtle for habitation.

45. BRAHMANA IN THE EAST ASIAN TRADITION

The word *brāhmaṇa* is derived from the same root as Brahman the Supreme Being, the Transcendent Absolute. The root *br̥mh* means expansion, evolution, development. The brahmana was pre-eminent as one who was the keeper of the highest knowledge and the value-system that held the social order in a continuity, ever renewed by change. *Kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yaṇ navatām upaiti*, eternity is constant change. The brahmana represented the sovereignty of order and the sanctity of transcendence, both in a shared interdependence of life. The brahmana was the individuated consciousness who enriched the collective consciousness in the flow of time. He was the continuity in the enduring flow of Cosmic Power. He was the revitalising synthesis in multiple spiritual manifestations that were beyond space and time. He was the Timeless Poet of India's being, whose root was humanity and righteousness. The brahmana symbolised ineffable peace, the serene harmony beyond the flux of forms. He consecrated the State in continuous stabilisation: *brahma ca kṣatram ca*. Gautama Buddha defines a brahmana as: "Him I call a brahmin whose wisdom is deep, who possesses knowledge, who discerns the right way and the wrong, and who has attained the highest end".

In Classical Japanese literature, a brahmana is known as *baramon*, *jogyo* 'one who practises purity', *joshi* 'one who delights in purity', *riyoku* 'without desire', *joei* 'descendant of pure Brahman'. In the tenth chapter of the *Daichidoron* (T 1509) it is said: "Brahmanas are those whose family is pure since seven generations". The eighth century lexicon of *Erin* (T 2128) says: "The brahmanas are laity that practises purity, who appertain to noblesse, reject evil essences and are thinkers". The brahmana is spoken of several times in Japanese literature. The references are too many to be recounted. The first Indian to go to Japan was Bodhisena. He was born of a brahmana family in India. He was of the *Bhāradvāja* gotra. Receiving a mystic inspiration from *Mañjuśrī*, he went to China and stayed at the *Wu-t' ai* Mountain. On the request of several Japanese who were in China for diplomatic negotiations and for study, Bodhisena arrived in Japan in 736 A.D. He was cordially received by the Imperial Family, and appointed Archbishop. People informally called him *Baramon* (Brahmana) Archbishop. When the famous *Daibutsu*, the biggest statue in the world, was cast and installed in the city of *Nara*, Bodhisena presided over the consecration ceremony. His disciple *Shuei* says in the epitaph: "He had a well-controlled mind, and was subtle and clever. We revere him, but who can penetrate into the inmost recesses of his heart? His wisdom, vast as the ocean, always pours over us without ever being dried up".

In Japanese paintings and woodcuts we find the representation of several gotras of brahmanas, for example, Vasiṣṭha, Aṅgiras, Gautama, Atri, Bhṛgu. Herebelow is a line-drawing of Aṅgiras and Gautamī from the Taizokai maṇḍala of A.D. 806:



In the seventh and eighth centuries, scientific works were known as "brahmana books" in China. Books with the prefix 'brahmana' dealt with astronomy, calendrical science and mathematics. Unfortunately, since all were subsequently lost, one cannot now estimate what they contributed. It is certain, however, that during these two centuries brahmana scholars were employed in the Astronomical Bureau at the Chinese capital. Kāśyapa Hsiao-Wei, who was there shortly after A.D. 650, was occupied with the improvement of the calendar, as were most of his later Indian successors. The greatest of them was Gautama Siddha who became President of the Board. It seems that these brahmanas brought an early form of trigonometry, a technique which was then developing in their country.

Though most of their writings failed to survive, something more should be said here of these Indian astronomers and calendar-experts of the Sui and T'ang. The story begins with the books of brahmana astronomy such as the P 'o-lo-men T'ien Wen Ching, mentioned in the Sui Shu bibliography, but long lost. These must have been circulating about A.D. 600. During the following two centuries we meet with the names of a number of brahmana astronomers resident at the Chinese capital.

The first was Gautama Lo, who produced two calendar systems in A.D. 697 and A.D. 698, but the greatest was Gautama Siddha who compiled the Khai-Yuan Chan Ching about A.D. 729, in which a zero symbol and other innovations appeared. It is a work of great importance often mentioned. In any case the paradox remains that we owe to the brahmana Gautama Siddha the greatest collection of ancient and medieval Chinese astronomical fragments.

To this day, Bali, the Isle of a Myriad Temples, celebrates the coming of Dvijendra. He came to the court of Gelgel in Bali and wrote several works. Pādaṇḍa Dvijendra brought Hindu culture to Bali when the Majapahit empire was succeeded by an Islamic political order. Today Dvijendra is the lay of Jayaprāṇa. Several higher secondary schools are named after Dvijendra. A tenth century anthology from Indonesia entitled Ślokāntara speaks of the brahmana as *yan manuṣya tan hana lēviah kadi brāhmaṇa*: a brahmana symbolises superordinate goals of human existence and transcendence that bid humanity into worlds of absolute luminosity.

46. INDIA AND JAPAN: A CULTURAL ENCOUNTER

My hosts the Gods
To see my own nature
And to become Buddha.

The vast Japanese world is referred to by *karyu-kai*, that is, "the world of flowers and willows". It is the world of fleeting illusion, an expression rooted in Japan through Buddhism, wherein transience is the nature of things phenomenal, like 'the perfume of a flower pressed between the pages of a forgotten book'. This cultural harmony of India and Japan goes back to 552 when the first Buddhist teachers arrived with *sūtras* and statues. Couple of decades later Prince Shotoku spread the splendour of Buddhism in the Land of the Rising Sun. Japan emerged from the limbo of her prehistory, under her Aśoka, Prince Shotoku (574-621) who drew up her first Constitution, wherein the Triratna (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) were a fundamental factor. He constructed several Buddhist monasteries among which the Hōryū-ji "The Temple for the Flourishing of Dharma" (Dharma-vardhana-vihāra) near the city of Nara is the most ancient wooden building in the world. Its mural paintings were modelled after those found in the monastic universities of India. Its great Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to which the centuries have given a rich dark patina evince a particular purity of line, surface and decoration, and a desire to see humanity, flesh and blood, fused in most abstract of deities. (The Hōryū-ji Monastery has yielded one of the most ancient Sanskrit manuscripts of the Uṣṇīṣavijayā-dhāraṇī in the Gupta script). Avenues, trees, play of the curves of the roofs, roofs like a great heron's wings resting among trees, lend it an impression of calm and serenity, embodying and reflecting a unity of the history of Asia.

The famous gigantic Buddha, the Daibutsu of Nara, symbol of the immensity of life (*prāṇo vai virāt*), represents Rocana the effulgent illumination. When it was installed at Nara in the eighth century, its consecration (*prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*) was performed by the Indian teacher Bodhisena. Bodhisena also introduced court dance and music (*bugaku*) from India. Bugaku is a unique cultural asset of Japan and the Japanese are proud of this art. Careful attention is paid to its preservation by the Imperial Household. It is still performed on the occasion of national celebrations and in honour of visiting dignitaries.

The *viṇā* under its Japanese form *biwa* is an integral characteristic of the Japanese *Sarasvatī*. The most ancient *biwa* known today is preserved in the Shosoin Repository, dating to 757 A.D.

(With the advent of the ninth century, Japanese life had been transformed by assimilation with Buddhist civilisation). In this century the blossoming of the great continental culture in insular surroundings reached its culmination in the personalities of Dengyo Daishi (762-822) and particularly of Kobo Daishi (774-835), who visited China to drink at the purest springs of Dharma. His thought, his approach to art and life, his system of Shingon left a deep imprint on Japanese civilisation. It was rich in metaphysics and symbolism, magnificent in rites and rituals, impressive in form and colour, esoteric in initiation, lofty in subtle mystery, and elaborate in extreme intellectual penetration.)

Kobo Daishi's new denomination of Shingon or Mantrayāna was a new moral conscience of the country. He proclaimed Buddhahood to be the potential privilege of all as against the predestined few. He was to become an outstanding genius in Japan's cultural evolution. For the first time he founded a school for the children of common people. Till then the academies were open only to children of families above the fifth rank. To achieve this historic democratisation, he created the Japanese Katakana alphabet of fifty sounds: *a i u e o*, *ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. based on his study of the Sanskrit alphabet. The Hiragana alphabet was the cursive form which was woven into the *Iroha* poem wherein the complete alphabet of 50 letters was included, and each letter occurred only once--- it was a literary marvel. This poem of the alphabet speaks of the gleaming colours that blow away, the deep mountains of ephemeral life, shallow dreams, and the crossing over them all. One of the greatest poems in the Japanese language, it was inspired by the Sanskrit work *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*. To this day, every Japanese child begins his education with this *Iroha* poem.

To lay the foundations of Mantrayāna, Kobo Daishi visited China to study the transcendental path under Hui-kuo (746-805). He was initiated by Hui-kuo into Tantric Sutras and their pictorial representation in the form of *Mahākaruṇā-garbha* and *Vajradhātu Maṇḍalas*, known as the *Ryobu Mandara* or Twin Maṇḍalas. These maṇḍalas synthesize the transmission by Śubhākara-simha of Nalanda and Vajrabodhi of Kanchipuram. Through Hui-kuo, who was a direct disciple of Amoghavajra, Kobo Daishi inherited the Tantric tradition of Amoghavajra (705-774) "the Master of Eloquence and Wide Wisdom", whose genius was responsible for the Chinese translation of the *Tattva-saṅgraha* on the contemplative system of Esoteric Yoga, which was visualised in the paintings of the Twin Maṇḍalas.

(The Twin Maṇḍalas represent innate Reason and primal Enlightenment, harmonising in Compassion and *Dynamis*. Herein the *sādhaka* identifies himself with the forces that govern the universe, and collects their powers within himself.) The Light that

burns within spreads out and is diffused, guiding towards noble paths. The iconic manifestation of the Unmanifested leads to the luminosity of Consciousness.

The pair of maṇḍalas is the Origin of the Buddhas, and of the body and mind of sentient beings. The great Classical Japanese commentary *Hizoki* says that the maṇḍalas are the dharma of the Buddha transmitted esoterically. It cannot be expressed in words. So it is manifested to the yogin in illustrations.

Thus, in 806 Kobo Daishi returned to Japan with profound Gods born unto him, with homa consuming baser passions, his total being illumined by a new vision, as he carried the sutras expounding the Esoteric system as well as its pictorial representation in the form of Twin Maṇḍalas.

Hui-kuo, the guru of Kobo Daishi, had the Twin Maṇḍalas drawn for him by the famous painter Li-chên assisted by more than ten other artists. They were polychrome. They found full efflorescence and fruition in their new milieu. Though the original paintings of the maṇḍalas brought by Kobo Daishi are now lost, but from them were painted the Takao Maṇḍalas in 824 in gold and silver lines on purple damask silk in polychrome. These are now preserved at the Jingoji Monastery.

The Toji Monastery has also conserved a multicoloured painting of the two maṇḍalas, painted by a monk-master from the original maṇḍalas brought from China by Kobo Daishi.

The above Takao and Toji maṇḍalas, along with the Kojima maṇḍalas (mid-Heian period), constitute the three fundamental versions of the Twin Maṇḍalas. The Kojima pair was drawn in golden lines on purple damask silk in the eleventh century. It has been handed down in the Kojima Monastery.

(In the Twin Maṇḍalas is mirrored the realm of Shingon or Mantrayāna infused with Hindu deities. It is a complex empyrean populated with Gods and ṛṣis, spirits and furies, the inexhaustible beauties, potentialities, activities and mysteries of the world transformed into celestial personages. Here is the deep link of mantra with the arts: by sacred gestures (*mudrā*), wealth of symbolism, liturgy, music, incense and song we return to art.)

The Mahākaruṇā maṇḍala is available in the woodprinted version of Buzanji. In its outermost Quarter of Vajras we find the representation of sages (ṛṣi) like Vasiṣṭha or Basu-sen in Japanese, Aṅgiras and Atri, masters of the 'Ornate Heart of Mystery'.

In the realm of the indestructible diamond of ultimate truth, we find the Japanese form of Bonten or Brahmā with his four faces:

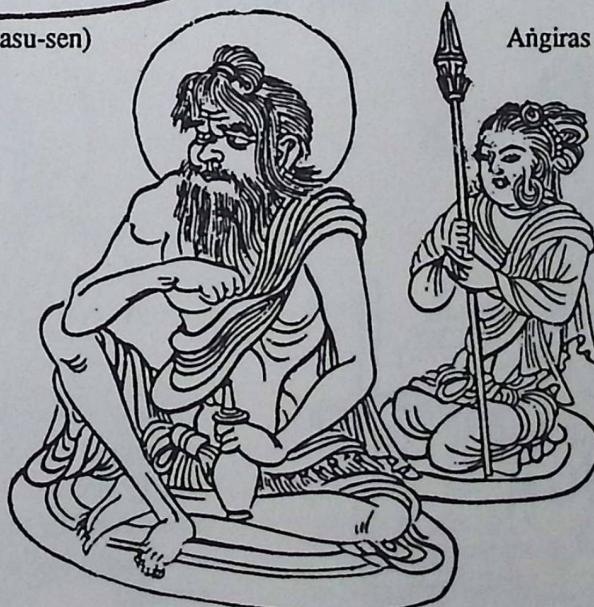
Vasiṣṭha from the Japanese woodcuts going back to Ken-i's monochrome copy of 1035 A.D.



Vasiṣṭha (Jap. Basu-sen)



Aṅgiras and consort



Atri and consort



The Caturmukha (Four-faced) Brahmā is called Bon-ten in Japanese. He appears among the Twelve Devas. 11th century.

Racing on fiery steeds is Āditya or Nitten:



Āditya (Japanese Nitten) is represented with varied characteristics in Japanese Art. Here he is driven forth by his seven horses of which only five are visible. 11th century.

Umā and Maheśvara are known as Umahi and Daijizai-ten in Japanese. How very Japanese they are, in their bold and charming strokes. Umā has her hair tied back like a daughter of Japan, with the perfume of the earth still lingering about her.



Umā and Maheśvara, both riding on the bull, in the tradition of Shingon. 11th century (Ken-i's drawing)

Viṣṇu in his simple Japanese grace is a rhythm emerging subtly as a secret conveyed by the purity of line in unfilled spaces.



Viṣṇu or Naraen-den in Japanese (which corresponds to Nārāyaṇa in Sanskrit) on Garuḍa. 11th century.

Sarasvatī or Benzaiten appears with a *biwa*, sprung from the very soil of Japan. The Japanese representations of the Gods express a deep respect for the dignity of the human form, a love of purity and a vivid feeling for man. According to a Japanese text: "Sarasvatī is the compassionate Mother of all sentient beings. Her virtuous merits pervade the three thousand worlds. She bestows treasures. She is wondrous wisdom. She grants longevity and happiness. As she presides over music and eloquence, she is also called "Beautiful-Sound Devī". As she is a goddess of profit, virtues and knowledge she is also known as *guṇa-devī*. She grants desires to those who pray for treasures or profits, eloquence or music, dexterity or wisdom".



Sarasvatī or Benzaiten.
11th century

Gaṇapati or Vināyaka has a place in the Shingon pantheon, lording over categories (*gaṇa*) as the Cosmic Person. The elephant-headed Man, as Gaṇapati is, expresses the unity of man the microcosm with the Great Being, the Macrocosm, pictured as an elephant. The Japanese names of Gaṇapati are Binayaka, Shōden and Kangiten. Binayaka is the most usual appellation in the *Hizoki*. Kangiten (Nandikeśvara) denotes the god of happiness, prosperity, and well-being. Shoden can be rendered into Sanskrit as Āryadeva. Besides, specific manifestations have individual names. There is a lovely illustration of this Gaṇapati with an axe and a radish in a 9th century scroll, kept in the Daigoji monastery at Kyoto, drawn in 821 A.D.



Gaṇapati (Kangiten) or Vināyaka
(Binayaka in Japanese). 11th
century.



毘那夜迦
以二小二無名指鉤向內以二
中指豎相交又以二風各附中
指以二大附近頭指側加持五
處



又說
結內三結印以二頭指附二中
指背二大指
內縛二中指立合二
頭指以二中指背
附二大指開二頭指
側附



聖天 請召印
二小指二無名指相鉤向內
二中指豎相刃二頭指各豎
附中指二大指亦豎附近頭
指側
二手五指舒掌仰二
小指二無名指屈內
向二中指以右押左相
交申二頭指二中指
背附二大指二頭指
側附

Mudrās of Gaṇeśa from the Japanese "Collection of the Drawings of Mantrayāna Mudrās". According to the Japanese work Dainichikyo, the mudrās crystallise a transmaterial state for meditation.

In Japanese worship, mudrās are an integral part to evoke the visual presence of divine epiphanies in the mind of the initiate to transform his inner being. Gaṇapati or Vināyaka is represented by three mudrās in a popular mudrā manual for worship.

Gaṇapati is still worshipped in Japan. At the Jingoji monastery of Takao a special temple is consecrated to the esoteric Twin Gaṇapati and every year a worship is held in his honour. In other Mantrayanic monasteries too special shrines are dedicated to Gaṇapati. Homes in Koyasan are hallowed by Gaṇapati. On the last day of my stay at Koyasan, I sat on a bench for the bus to the railway station. Curiosity took me inside the shop and there was a graceful image of a standing Gaṇapati in white wood. My repeated entreaties to the shop-owner to give it to me only evoked smiles and polite bowings. Alas for my vain desire! The overflowing bounty of the grace of Gaṇapati still glimmers in the adoring hearts of Japan.

About 900 deities of Indian origin are represented in the cosmographic art of Japan, representing abstractions of thought and intensity of life, the abstruse and recondite *mikkyō* or esoteric doctrine around Vairocana 'the Great Light'. The universe itself is the body of the supreme Buddha Vairocana. This great art is *koreru ongaku* or 'frozen music' of manifest forms, awaiting one who has attained the summit, the *himitsu shogon shin* or the "Ornate Heart of Mystery".

In the graceful line and colour of Japanese paintings over the centuries the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, devas and dharmarājas, grahas and nakṣatras, rāśi and ṛṣis gleam in aspects that range from serene enlightenment to ferocious combat with forces of evil and ignorance. Herein the Japanese painter or sculptor has concentrated his efforts in expressing in human terms a calm exterior and an intense introspection. Even the multiplicity of arms and heads is resolved into the rhythm of form. Here is the world of Indo-Japanese Art which, in the words of an eighth century inscription,

Calms us, gives us a tranquil mind
Every vulgar shadow is dissipated
And caprice is subdued.
Joy, yes, and Harmony.

47. HISTORY OF INDO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

(Sutras and sculptures, Siddham and structures)

Kashmir is the land of creative spans, the vale of wisdom, whence have flowed new profiles of courage, a constant renewal of the spirit in the endless journey of the heart of man. In the beginning of the ninth century an illustrious son of Kashmir, Prājña by name, was a hallowed presence at Ch'ang-an, the-then T'ang capital of China. Ch'ang-an was the greatest metropolis of the time, where the golden age of T'ang mirrored the vigour and grace, the stateliness and luminous beauty of Serindic culture. The Kashmiri ācārya Prājña radiated the divine spark, the light of intellective knowledge and psychic experience, as his very name implies. His eloquent knowledge of Sanskrit flowed in the Chinese translation of Sanskrit works. In 805 A.D. on a spring day, in this famed metropolis stood a young monk from Japan, 'whom the Shingon chronicles describe as 'a young man with a broad forehead, well-shaped eyebrows and intelligent looks, who listened silently to the discourse of his aged guru'. This young man was the śramaṇa Kūkai, who was later to be famed as Kobo Daishi. He had left his homeland in the July of 805 A.D., on board an imperial ship. After spending several months on a stormy sea, he had arrived in Ch'ang-an in late December, in quest of an auspicious coincidence of an integrated vision and a rich, pure experience, synthesised in the esoteric doctrine of Mantrayāna or Shingon 'The True Word', which was the culmination of Buddhism, a new horizon and a paradigm of a new universe, grounded in the fundament of mantras. The threshold, the power, the wonder of the mantra lay in its meditational realisation, its appropriate conceptualisation as ultimate meaning and its correct enunciation as a formed symbol.

The letter shapes reflected the spans of inner space. Thus the script used for the mantras was not purely a writing system, but a visual medium of an intrinsic dimension. Kobo Daishi was introduced by the Kashmiri Prājña to the Nagari script of the period, which has been designated by the Japanese tradition as *Shittan*, a corruption of the Sanskrit word Siddham, which began the alphabet. To this day, the Japanese write mantras in artistic Siddham-nagari the contribution of Kashmir for evoking the Cosmic Consciousness. This form of Nagari has a calligraphic charm of its own, in expressive curves and subtle linear nuances of the brush, or in sturdy and dynamic strokes of the wooden stylus bringing out its innate aesthetics. We may illustrate it with the letter *si* which stands for *siddhir astu*: or by the symbolic syllable (bījākṣara) *śrī* wherein the sādḥaka calligrapher seeks to discover the creativity of shape, the abandon of the flourish

evoking the flow of drapery of Kichijō-ten, that is, Lakṣmī or Mahāśrīdevī, the Goddess of Wealth and Beauty, well expressed in an eighth century painting of her preserved at the Yakushi-ji by an unknown artist who imparted subtle, rhythmic undulation to her transparent veils.

Before we elaborate the various developments that followed in the wake of Kobo Daishi's cultural renaissance, we may cast a look at the preceding centuries which were the matrix for the new aesthetic, spiritual and social ideals. In sixth century Japan, Buddhism made a stormy entry on a scene where opposing families and clans were contending for power. The virulent civil war between the Soga and Mononobe clans in 587 ended in the victory of Soga who espoused Dharma i.e. Buddhism. A religion of peace and moral grandeur, it contributed to far-reaching political, social and spiritual advance. Its ascendancy was a victory of novelty over tradition whose grass-root customs, popular cults, practices and deities were merged into the new Dharma. It was a challenge to the latent intellectual capabilities of Japan, an opportunity for potential literacy and an impressive asset to cultural outflow. It was the Korean kingdom of Paikche whence Japan received her Dharma and alongwith it her first scribes, painters and calligraphers -- an event deemed momentous enough to be recorded in the chronicle *Nihon Shoki* in the years 463, 544, 588, etc. Astrologers, landscape architects, pharmacists, painters, bridge-builders, and bhikṣus arrived from Korea to promote the rise of Dharma in the Land of the Rising Sun. Empress Suiko (who ascended the throne in 593 A.D.) appointed her nephew Prince Shōtoku as regent. He became the Aśoka of Japan, the consolidator of the Dharma. He promulgated the first Japanese Constitution in Seventeen Articles.

Prince Shōtoku initiated the construction of a series of temples that have ever been the glory of Japanese architecture. Among them, Horyuji occupies the prime place. To pursue the sūtras in seclusion, Prince Shōtoku was attracted by the Ikaruga hamlets far away from the Imperial capital. Here he started the construction of his palace and the Horyuji temple, whose sheer splendour captured the hearts of all men. The multiple buildings of the austere dormitories for the monks, the *kondō* or golden hall, *kōdō* or sutra auditorium, with their woodwork painted bright cinnabar red, the roof tiles scintillating in the sunlight, gilded surfaces glittering against the sky, wind-bells hanging from the eaves singing melodiously as swung by gentle breeze, the nine golden rings atop the towering pagoda, the buildings vast in scale--all evoked wonder and awe. Away from the din and turbulence of everyday life, confronted by profound beauty a devotee could visualise the unstained purity of the human spirit. The octagonal Yumedono or "Dream Hall" today commemorates the site where Prince Shōtoku once lived. The roof ornament

in gilded bronze is the *cintāmaṇi* jewel with beams of light radiating in all directions, resting on a lotus flower and a vase (*kalaśa*) covered with a canopy. It symbolises this sacred hall as a centrum whence radiates the divine force of Dharma. In the hall stands an image of Avalokiteśvara modelled after Prince Shōtoku, which was given his body length. In his hands rests the flaming *cintāmaṇi*, the emblem of the Bodhisattva's power of *mokṣa*.

The kondō or golden hall of the Hōryūji is adorned with murals whose style has close affinities to that of India. Its special importance lies in reflecting the artistic achievements of seventh century India. In the years 643-646, 648-649, and 657-661 the entourage of the Chinese envoy Wang Hsüan-ts'e copied the frescoes on the walls of monasteries in Bihar. Later on these paintings were compiled in 40 fascicules. Some of them were taken to Japan by the Korean artist Honjitsu, and they are said to have been the models for Hōryūji murals.

Even today Kichijō-ten or Mahāśrīdevī Lakṣmī is worshipped at Yakushiji as the *honzon* or 'principal object of adoration', to bestow good fortune. It is a painting of the Nara period done on fine hemp. Its first ceremony was held in A.D. 727. It is endowed with divine beauty and a feeling for actuality of the visible world. While this painting is 'like the fragrance of a blooming flower' (to borrow the words of a Japanese poem), at Shin-Yakushiji we find aesthetic vigour and vitality, the flood tide of life in the image of Basara one of the Twelve Generals. The cold clay has been brought to life to pulsate with the hot blood of anger: *bhīṣaṇaṁ bhīṣaṇānām*.

A few yards from Yakushiji is the Toshodaiji monastery, where the aura of Classical times lingers to this day. It was built for the Chinese bhikṣu Ganjin who had been invited to Japan to strengthen monastic discipline in the opulent monasteries of Nara. He succeeded in giving birth to forces which were to correct laxities and extravagances. The severity, calm and purity of Ganjin's character is reflected in his realistic statue. The array of statues in the kondō of this temple expresses the power and grace of the pantheon, with Birushana (Vairocana) seated in the centre, the origin of all in the cosmos. The wooden figures of Brahmā, Indra and the Four Lokapālas make an imposing phalanx of statues. When I visited the stupa of Ganjin in September 1970, alongwith Swami Omanand Sarasvati, at the door stood a lady who later disclosed herself as Mrs. Fusano Okada the wife of a textile magnate. While we circumambulated the stupa and pondered over the flown centuries, Mrs. Okada gazed at us, absorbed in a reverie. As we came out of the door, we presented her a sandal incense-stick. Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto interpreted her innermost thoughts: "She is so happy to see an Indian priest.

It is in ten thousand years that one may have this pious privilege". So deeply was she moved that she composed a poem on the spot. Memories of eighth century Nara became alive in a sacral realism of the present.

Floating in a sea of verdant woods is the golden ornament of the imposing roof of the Daibutsu-den "Hall of the Great Buddha" of the Todaiji monastery. Daibutsu-den enshrines the *virāṭ rūpa* of Rocana, in the form of a gigantic statue, in the national temple of eighth century Japan. Emperor Shomu had vowed to raise this statue to a height of 48 feet to symbolise the power of the profane and the profound. Twelve years and immense materials were spent in casting the Daibutsu. On 9 April 752 it was consecrated in a sumptuous ceremony, which was presided over by Bodhisena, the first historic Indian to have visited Japan. He was a brahmin of the *bhāradvāja* gotra. Inspired by Mañjuśrī, he went to China to Wu-t'ai shan mountains sacred to Mañjuśrī. At Imperial invitation, he arrived in Japan in A.D.736 where he was warmly welcomed. The people knew him as the Baramon (Brahmin) Archbishop. On 25 February 760 he entered in eternal *samādhi* and his disciple Shuei (*Taisho Shinshū Daizōkyō* 51: 987a) wrote "On his death we felt as though the main prop of the house were broken and we deplored we could hear his virtuous voice no more. ... His wisdom, vast as the ocean, always pours over us without ever being dried up". In this Todaiji temple consecrated by the Brahmin Archbishop, we can view the expressive range of Nara sculptures of Brahmā, Indra, Four Lokapāla, Sūrya, Candra, Sarasvatī and Śrīlakṣmī which have escaped the ravages of fire. In front of the Great Buddha Hall stands the 8th century octagonal bronze lantern adorned with musicians of heaven on its grilled openwork amid florid array of cloud patterns and swirling drapery. The world's largest statue in the world's largest wooden building was intended to express a spirit of devotion in all its grandeur and magnificence and at the same time to give concrete embodiment to national solidarity of all classes of the population. It was a major step towards the democratisation of Dharma.

To this day the Todaiji and other monasteries and museums of Japan have masks which are used in the Bugaku or Gagaku dance and music which was introduced to Japan by Bodhisena. There are the masks of Baramon (brahmin), Garuḍa, Sāgara-nāgarāja, yakṣa, Indra, Brahmā, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasiṣṭha ṛṣi, Īśvara, Lakṣmī and others, used in dances performed in temples and in the Imperial Palace at banquets. These forms have been preserved as ceremonial dances for national celebrations. Some of the musical pieces pertain to Bairo or Bhairava. I had the pleasure of listening to Japanese sacral music at Ann Arbor, Michigan (USA) and was charmed by the depth of its perceptivity.

A place of distinction is occupied by the Kofukuji temple of Nara which was a training centre for master sculptors for centuries. In its northern circular hall one is struck by the realism of the portrait-like features of the two outstanding Indian philosophers Vasubandhu (Jap. Seishin) and Asaṅga (Jap. Muchaku). These are the masterpieces of the great sculptor Unkei, admired for the richness of his realistic treatment.

The Kasuga shrine dedicated to the protective deities of Kofukuji is a colourful display of vermilion and green on the slopes of the mountain. The Indian dance and music of Bugaku has been handed down to our day in a continuous tradition in all its impressive elegance and élan, conveying the audacity and boldness of its founders, the Fujiwara family,

As we have already pointed out, the visit of Kobo Daishi to China and his personal contacts with great master Prājñā were to produce a profound effect on the cultural evolution of Japan. After his return, Kobo Daishi started spreading education to the common man in the true spirit of *bahu-jana-hitāya bāhu-jana-sukhāya*. Till then education had been restricted to the privileged classes, and only children of families above the fifth rank could attend academies and universities. Kobo Daishi opened the "Institution of General Arts and Wisdom" (Shugei Shuchi-in) for children of all classes. The courses were both secular and sacred. To democratise and advance literacy, Kobo Daishi also invented the syllabary of Fifty Sounds (*Goju-on*), starting: *a i u e o, ka ki ku ke ko*, etc. Its basis was the Sanskrit alphabet. He further wove the entire alphabet into a poem wherein every syllable occurred only once. This poem is called *Iroha* and it is based on the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. In translation:

Colours, gleam as they may,
How they blow away !
Who in this world of ours
Lasts for aye ?
The deep mountains of ephemeral life
We've crossed this day.
No more shallow dreams we see.
Nor shall we inebriate be.

It is a free transcreation of the Sanskrit poem:

*Sarve saṁskārāḥ anityāḥ utpāda-vyaya-dharmināḥ/
teṣāṁ vyupaśamaḥ sukham avadad mahāśramaṇaḥ//*

The new syllabary was a revolutionary step in Japan's civilisation: what was hitherto the prerogative of the pre-destined few became the potential privilege of all.

To Kobo Daishi the Sanskrit alphabet represented the *vāk* aspect or the verbal plane of Cosmic Realisation (*sādhana*). The invocation to his major work *Hizo hoyaku* begins:

I take refuge in That One
 Who is the adamant life of all beings,
 Transcendental, immaculate, causeless, and infinite,
 In the Silent One
Ka the Evolving, *Ca* the Involving, *Ṭa* the Majestic
Ta the Suchness, *Pa* the Ultimate Truth, and
Ya the absolute Vehicle on which all beings are carried forth.
 Herein the Sanskrit alphabet is expressed by:

ka	ka-varga	kārya	evolving
ca	ca-varga	cyuti	involving
ṭa	ṭa-varga	ṭaṅka	majestic
ta	ta-varga	tathatā	suchness
pa	pa-varga	paramārtha-satya	the Ultimate Truth
ya	ya-ha	yāna	the Vehicle

It symbolises the Dharma-maṇḍala in Japanese philosophy. It is a fascinating domain of intercultural studies which awaits exploration by Indian scholars.

A list of Sanskrit hymns brought to Japan is given in Goshō-rai mokuroku (T 2161 p.1063), beginning with the Samantabhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna-rāja. In A.D. 848 Emperor Jimmei used to recite the Sanskrit hymn to the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu. In the tenth century Kancho (910-998) wrote the musical notation for the psalmody of the Ardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā. The chanting of mantras was the exteriorisation of inner space, which in turn was fortified by mudrās. This special genre of music is termed Bombai or Shōmō. This music goes back to Po Fa-k'iao who died in A.D. 350. Nippon Victor Records have prepared some tapes of this music. To this day there is a special College of Buddhist Music at Kyoto and Koyasan.

High on Mount Takao is the Jingoji temple reached by a footpath winding up its steep slope. Celebrated for fiery foliage in autumn, it became an appropriate starting point for the understanding of Mikkyō or Mantrayāna with its metaphysics and mystery, symbolism and intellectual penetration. The main deity at Jingoji is Yakushi Nyōrai or Bhaiṣajyaguru, casting on the devotees a brooding spiritual awareness. The esoteric images of the Five Bodhisattvas exude the mystery which resides in beauty itself. The gigantic paintings of the two cosmograms or maṇḍalas of Garbha-dhātu and Vajra-dhātu

in gold and silver on purple damask, coordinate the esoteric traditions of the ancient Indian universities of Nalanda in the north and Kanchi in the south. An Indian is struck by the presence of a special hall for the homa (Jap. *goma*) ceremony in the Jingoji monastery, where the blazing fires were the wisdom which destroys obstacles to salvation. There is also a special temple consecrated to the esoteric Twin Gaṇeśa and even today worship ceremonies are held twice an year.

Residing at Mount Takao, in A.D. 816 Kobo Daishi received imperial sanction to proceed to Koyasan to found the main seat of Mantrayāna in Japan, to symbolise the emergence of a new spiritual energy. Far away from the metropolitan capitals, amidst deep gorges and dense forests, he established monasteries in harmony with giant trees. The tremendum of the sacred *tirtha* deep in the mountains evoked an overpowering grandeur for the masses. To this day, it has remained a favourite resort of pilgrims, both high and low, as it was through the ages.

At Okuno-in or inner precincts lies Kobo Daishi in eternal samādhi amidst the serene grandeur of cryptomeria forests. In course of time it became the last resting place of both the noble and the humble. Thousands of memorial stones commemorate emperors, the nobility, saints, philosophers, common men and destitutes. These stones are called *gorintō* or stūpas (*tō*) of five (*go*) elements (*rin*). They are composed of five parts to represent the five elements (*pañca-tattva*): a cube to symbolise the earth (*pr̥thivī*), a sphere for water (*āp*), a pyramid for fire (*tejas*), a crescent for air (*vāyu*) and a ball for ether (*ākāśa*). Such memorial stupas are being raised up to our day. One may even find such a memorial 'Stupa to Love-Letters' at Zuishin-nin, Kyoto. The well-known poetess Ono-no-Komachi was the most celebrated beauty of her time. She received thousands of love letters from her admirers. Destined for tragedy, she buried them all in a bundle under the stupa, where the remains of her hermitage can also be seen. Nowhere do we find the Sanskrit idea of mergence into the *pañca-mahābhūta* represented architectonically like this. In the Torodo or Hall of Lamps over ten thousand oil lamps are offered to Kobo Daishi in the memory of beloved ones. There are two lights in which the larger vision of faith unites impirium and penury-- one lamp lighted by Emperor Shirakawa in 1023 and the other by a poor woman who had nothing but her hair to sell in order to present a lamp. Both have never been extinguished. They are the most ancient *amarajyoti*, the light eternal. Nowhere also has nature, piety and remembrance of dear ones combined to produce such an atmosphere of solemn beauty and serenity.

Before we pass on, it would interest our readers to know that the seal of Okuno-in is the Sanskrit symbolic syllable (bijākṣara) YU. Other monasteries and sacred places also have Sanskrit seals.

Till recent times, Koyasan forbade the presence of women, while Muroji welcomed them and thus was destined to be a more popular place for pilgrimage, known as the 'Koya for women'. There is a large image of Maitreya Buddha on the face of the cliff on the road which leads to this temple. While it reminds us of its prototypes at Bamiyan, it is a delicate line engraving on the cliff. The central image of Śākyamuni at Muroji is flanked by Bhaiṣajyaguru and Kṣitigarbha on the left and by Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara to the right. The Muroji temple was famous for the maṇḍala of Indra as the lord of rainfall, painted on a wooden wall at the back of the main sanctum. On numerous occasions prayers have been offered for rain during serious droughts. In A.D. 824 Japan's most accomplished rain-maker Kobo Daishi performed pūjā for rain which was a resounding success. The holy lake at Muroji is shaped like the Siddham-nagari letter *vaṁ* representing Vairocana, the prime principle of the universe: for crossing over from *saṁsāra* into *nirvāṇa*.

After Kobo Daishi had established the monastery at Koyasan, in A.D. 823 he was given control of the Kyō-ō-gokoku-ji "Temple for the Protection of the Land through the Noble Dharma", popularly termed Toji or Eastern Temple. This was the establishment of Mantrāyana in the capital of Japan itself. The 21 statues in the lecture hall at Toji arranged in a maṇḍala paradigm are an impressive monument to a ceremony that was performed in the 9th century for the well-being of the country. Among them are the imposing statues of Brahmā, Skanda Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and others, besides deities of ferocious appearance whose profound and mysterious sculptures radiate irresistible power. This monastery has preserved the oldest Gyodo masks employed in ceremonial dances. To name a few: the masks for Brahmā, Indra, Sūrya, Kubera, Agni, Vasiṣṭha and Īśvara.

At Hase, Kamakura stands the great image of Amida, renowned as the Daibutsu, which is deservedly the symbol of Japan today. In the thirteenth century it was constructed by contributions of devotees of the Sukhāvati sect. Five centuries ago, a tidal wave swept away its hall and since it has sat under the open sky. Despite its immensity, the statue has an aesthetic fluency. The statue gazes downward with an aura of divine compassion (*karuṇā*) while the devotees chant adoration to Amitābha 'Infinite Illumination', *namo Amida butsu*, so that there shines the light of illumination regained.

Near Kyoto is the Golden Pavilion (Kinkaku) of Rokuonji which was the semi-hermitage of Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu as a Zen monk. It is a picturesque pavilion sitting in the pond, lending grace to the garden of Rokuonji temple. Here arises the ethereal pavilion of nirvāṇa overlooking the ocean of existence (*bhava-sāgara*). It recalls the Golden Temple of Amritsar in the centre of the pond which is the emergence of Brahmā from the primal waters.

In A.D. 1126 Zen-nin the outstanding Tendai calligrapher of Siddham-nagari, wrote mantras for the emperor. Three lines are illustrated below. They read: *om padmodbhavāya svāhā / om vajrodbhavāya svāhā / om vajrāgṇi-pradiptāya svāhā.* These mantras have continued to the present day in the homa ceremonies performed in the prominent temples of Mantrayāna.

The houses and shops at Koyasan in the Wakayama Prefecture are hallowed by prints and paintings of the letter A in the magnificent calligraphy of the Siddham-nagari script. Meditation on the prime letter A is known as *A-ji-kan* in Japan. In the eighth century the Indian ācārya Śubhākarasīrṃha of the Nalanda University, initiated this meditation on a golden-coloured A emerging from a pristinely white eight-petal lotus. Purifying his body and mind by the *japa* of A with every *pūraka* and *recaka* (in-breathing and out-breathing) of *prāṇāyāma* the meditator should visualise the microcosmic A pervading the universe and be consubstantiated with Vairocana the Illumination Supreme: to transcend the finite of his self into the universality of the Spiritual.

In the words of the leading Japanese cultural historian Prof. Hajime Nakamura: "most of the Japanese regard India as their spiritual motherland".

In ancient times, warriors went to war in helmets bearing Sanskrit bijas as benediction for victory. Such a helmet can be seen at the Reihokan Museum at Koyasan. The tokonoma or alcoves in Japanese parlours often have a smiling image of Daikoku or Mahākāla, who is venerated as the Deity of Fortune. Mahākāla became clad in Japanese robes and stood on two bags of rice representing affluence. Mahākāla became the Great Time (*mahā* 'great' *kāla* 'time'): the time of affluence, in contradistinction to *a-kāla* 'famine': the negation (*a*) of good time (*kāla*). The Japanese also have the bijākṣara of Mahākāla as a Siddham-nagari monogram.

The traditional pilgrims climbing the holy Mount Ontake wear *tenugui* or white Japanese scarves with the sacred mantra OM.

The well-known Kabuki theme of the Narukami is an adaptation of the Mahābhārata legend of how Ṛṣi Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who had never seen a woman, was seduced by Princess Śāntā the daughter of King Lomapāda.

The wonderful art of Ikebana, which means putting living plants in water is to love flowers as living beings and to tend them with kind feelings. The Japanese bow before the flowers after they have arranged them. An aesthetic creation, it is the essence of life itself, pervaded by the warmth of the human heart, whereby one gives expression to the universal heart. Japanese tradition speaks of "Indian monks who, in their universal love, were the first to pick up plants injured by the storm or parched by the heat, in order to tend them with compassion and endeavour to keep them alive". While different trends and schools of flower-arrangement developed, the fine feeling for form and the "three main lines" as the foundation remained constant. The three main lines correspond to the *tribhaṅga* in Indian art. The ceremony of incense burning added to the essence of the spiritual discipline which a budding flower and a few leaves inculcated. The clouds of incense, the gracefully created form, a profound thought calligraphed on a scroll by the hand of a Master were the Zen expression of the pañcopacāra wherein puṣpa and dhūpa had a core role: so that man may be touched by the deeps of life itself.

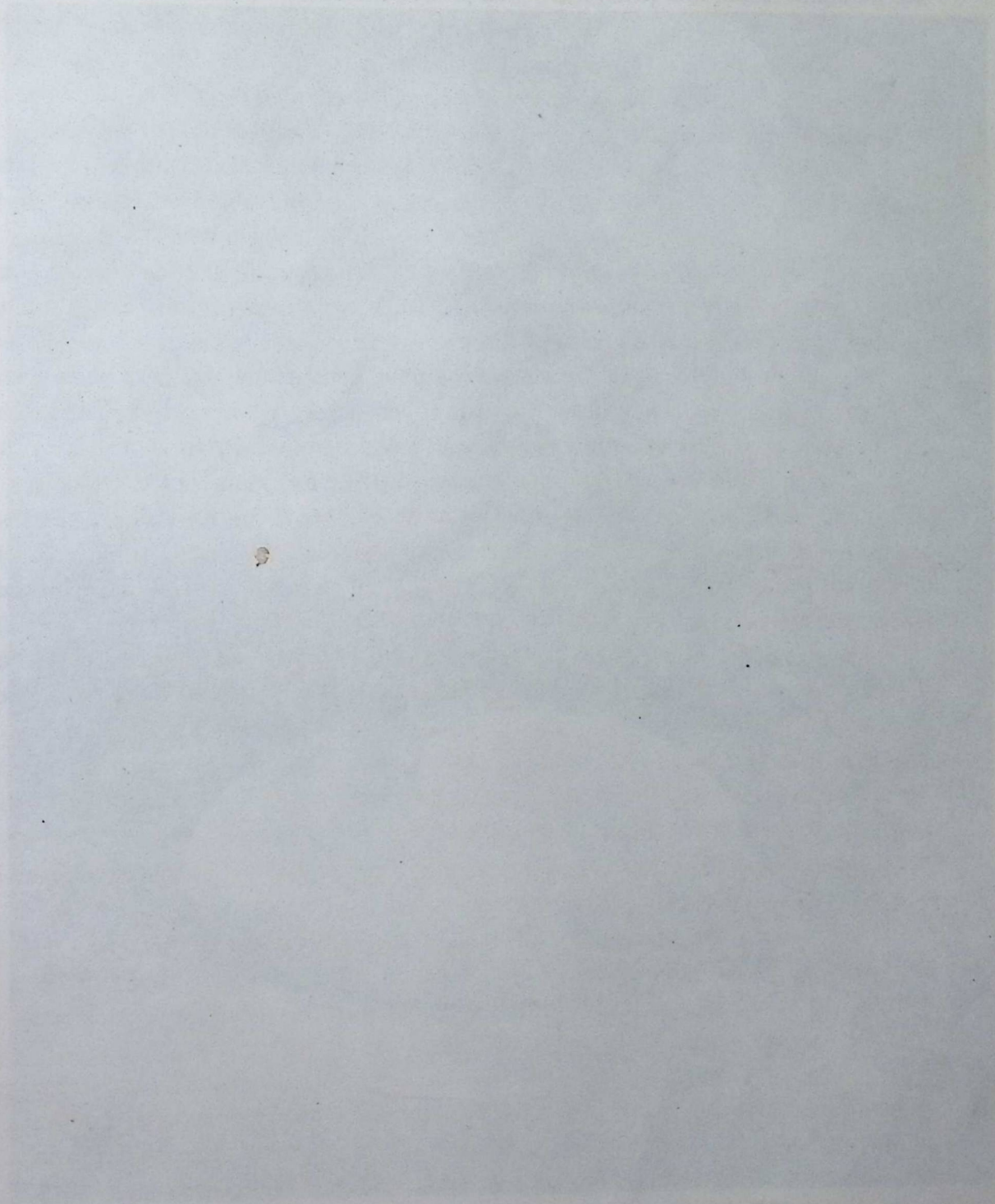
The sound of even-tide are the vibrations of the temple bell as it rings the 108 peals for the 108 passions that bind beings to this phenomenal world. The bell itself stands for impermanence: "the sound which it peals forth is perishable: it is perceived but it may not be kept. The phenomenal world is like the sound of the bell, it is perceived but it may not be kept".

As I strolled in the shops at Koyasan, my eyes fell on a manual used by the Mantrayāna monks for learning the mudrās of worship. The title of this manual is *Shin-gon-mikkyō-zū-in-shū* "a collection of the drawings of mudrās of Mantrayāna". In the Japanese tradition, mudrās evoke the presence of the divine in the mind of the initiate. According to the Japanese work *Dainichikyō* the mudrās endow the thoughts, consecrations, mantras, all that is beyond form with a visible evanescence, to crystallize a state of meditation. Thumbing through the manual my eyes lingered on the mudrā of Sarasvatī as a book in the form of a palm-leaf manuscript.

All that was transmitted from Kashmir, Kanchi and Nalanda to Japan was touched by the breath of the spirit and form that is Japan. Even in the austere simple lines representing Sarasvatī, there is the feeling of the Japanese world of flowers and willows. This is the anthropomorphic delineation of Sarasvatī on the physical plane or the plane of *kāya*. On the second or verbal plane of *vāk* she is calligraphed in the Siddham-nagari script in the monkish hand of a Master. Thus written the syllable lives and breathes in an adoring, admiring heart. On the final plane of the *citta*, she is realised a samaya, a vow, a resolve, expressed as a fundamental form, and "form is emptiness, and emptiness

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Offering of a tangerine to RO, the syllable for the *nava-graha*

is form" (*rūpam eva śūnyatā, śūnyatā eva rūpam*). Then purity and peace, simplicity and serenity become the artless art of life,

When tea is made with water drawn from the depths of Mind

Whose bottom is beyond measure. (poet Hideyoshi).

It is a world that is astonishing in its unity and continuity -- spanning fourteen centuries. A beauty, both sublunary and celestial, human and divine, *le véritable maṇḍala se fait dans le fond du coeur*.

This world of imagery still flows into the stream of life in Japan. The roundish Daruma doll is a must for success in life. You buy it, its eyes are blank, you paint one pupil before embarking on a project (can well be an Election !), and if all ends well, the second pupil is added so that Daruma is rewarded by full sight. The Daruma doll is the Indian ācārya Bodhidharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism. He spent eight years in uninterrupted meditation. At last when he tried to stand up, he found that his legs had atrophied. Thus the ancient frontiers of the collective mind live on.

Along a road stands an egglike rock on a flat roundish base of another rock, with the Sanskrit monogram RO (ॠ): Sanskrit letters implying deeper levels. A modern Japanese girl in mini, her hair dyed blonde and perhaps with styrene injection for a rounded feminine form, stops by, graciously puts a tangerine on a piece of paper as an offering to the planets. RO is the symbolic syllable or bījākṣara for *nava-graha-pūjā*. Such are the frozen levels of culture ever echoing at different strata of existence and consciousness.

48. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF JAPAN

Permit me to begin by recording my gratitude to the Japan Foundation that brings life to ever-widening circles of understanding across the waters that lap the shores of Asia and Europe. Japan is the first nation of Asia in point of time as well as supremacy in action to bring order and harmony in the cataclysmic clash between Oriental tradition and Western innovation. Prof. Hajime Nakamura, like many of his predecessors, has thought deep over our cultural patterns, vision and wisdom and their wedding to the wide vistas of modern dynamics. The cultural accomplishments of Japanese scholarship are great. Prof. Nakamura is their doyen. Buddhist wisdom, Shinto naturalism and scientific dynamism of Japan reduce the incompatibility of the twain, the East and the West, to evanescence. Humanity meets in a tea-cup.

For the centuries of India, Japan is an aching overflow of silence. Today, Japan is the śloka, the ecstasy that emerges from this śloka, this agony, as did the muse of Vālmiki. The Epic poet of India Vālmiki burst into a metrical śloka grieved (śoka) at the sight of a love-lorn bird-couple shot by a hunter. Likewise, our silence of history should become the scintillation of a new future. We look up to Japan in wonder and awe, as inspiration and creative catalyst, as dream and doing.

Japan of today is the manifestation (*suijaku*) of the universal essences (*honji*) of her Collective Conscious that not only survives but has been turned into a precious asset. The echoes of her consciousness are repeated at different levels of her life. Classical and contemporary are living symbols of vitality: steel and glass skyscrapers besides shops selling samurai swords. Japan fascinates the mind and ravishes the eyes. The electronics of today and frozen levels of culture pulsate in the warm reality of life in Japan.

The Meiji Restoration is a watershed in Japanese history. The dictum *wakon yosai* "Japanese spirit and Western technology" has worked miracles. This is the ideal Asia needs today to rise from the ashes of inaction and hence dependence on the West. The language of Japan was always clear, goals precise, and hard work has been the ideal. In the 19th century a Japanese scholar visited the Louvre. A painting showed a sinner condemned to hard labour in hell. The astonished Japanese exclaimed: "Is hard work a punishment?" A Buddhist monk was known in India as *bhikṣu* 'one who begs alms' and as *śramaṇa* 'one who works hard'. The Sino-Japanese took the latter as *shamon* as the prime expression. Glory to labour or *karmaṇy evādhikāras te* in the words of the Gītā. Work alone can liberate us.

The veering of the Japanese mind, spirit, intellect and action towards a neutral territory, in the nothingness of nowhere, may one day take shape as a world culture.

The Japanese Okakura Tenshin stayed at the home of poet Rabindranath Tagore in 1902. It led to the cultural renaissance of India. Out of his talks with the Indian poet, Tenshin crystallised his essay on *The Ideals of the East*, his first publication in English. Tenshin "The Heart of Heaven" launched the idea "Asia is one". Havell, Tagore, Coomaraswamy responded. The pioneers of modern Indian painting, Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, and others, used Japanese brushes and colours and reflected the diaphanous aura of Japanese paintings in their new creativity. The sketch manuals of Japanese iconography inspired the rise of Neo-Classical Indian art. The Sino-Japanese brush is an expressive instrument. It was invented by General Meng T'ien who supervised part of the building of the Great Wall of China. Deer's hair covered with goat's hair: a responsive brush tipped with a fine point. It was to expedite the construction of the Great Wall to defend culture against the barbarians. Two thousand years later, India's visual culture came alive with Japanese brushes. Tenshin had said: "Mind speaks to the mind. We listen to the unspoken, we gaze upon the unseen". Likewise did Coomaraswamy say: "it is the work of poets to make the heart free". It was echoed in the researches of Coomaraswamy who found parallels for Vedic texts in Japanese art in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* published by the Harvard University in 1935. This cultural encounter left a deep impression on our national ethos. India linked freedom with Japan. Some of our revolutionaries sought refuge in Japan.

The kanji unites India and Japan at the deepest levels. All the sutras of Japan are written in kanji. The ideographic world of kanji induces a sense of discipline, dedicated work and miniaturisation by the tens of strokes in a character, their fixed sequence, and the organic beauty of the whole. It is a feeling for strokes, lines and squares. The square stones set in a carpet of moss awaiting the bare feet of a goddess. Ideogram is the living tissue of Japanese life. Our vital bonds are as eternal as the kanji.

Both our countries have shared cultural strands. In A.D. 552 Buddhism was officially introduced into Japan when the king of Kudara (Paekche) sent a gilt bronze image of Lord Buddha and sutras. A host of secular technologies accompanied the new Buddhist order: writing, administration, weaving, metallurgy, calendar, architecture. Shōtoku Taishi is rightly acclaimed as the builder of Japanese civilization. As a thanksgiving to the new order, the Taishi created the Shitennoji at Osaka in A.D. 593, an architectural achievement of the age. He promulgated the first written Constitution of 17 articles in A.D. 604 in which the Triratna gave a humanised face to administration. He

gave birth to Japanese literature by his commentaries on Hokke (Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra), Yuima (Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa), and Shoman (Śrīmālā-sūtra). These are the first books ever written by a Japanese. Japanese literature begins with them. Japan had wrought a miracle in the short span of half a century. Her literature and imperial palaces were on par with those of continental China.

The Japanese state found Buddhism an invigorating stabilisation. The Daibutsu at Todaiji was the culmination of Japanese resourcefulness and technology. It was consecrated by the Indian Bodhisena who reached Osaka in 773. He taught Sanskrit at Daianji that showed the way to a phonetic system to suit the needs of the Japanese language. In the early part of the 9th century, Kobo Daishi brought Shingon to Japan. Shingon was full of mantras written in Siddham. This seems to have given rise to the Kana syllabary. In Shingon every person was a potential Buddha, a *Buddhāṅkura*, and so had the right to be enlightened. This required education. Kobo Daishi extended learning to all classes, down to the lowliest. Democratisation of education was a major step in the progress of Japan.

India's austerity was Japan's elegance: minimum of lines to express plentitude of form. It is the aesthetic appreciation of stark poverty, of austere form, the *sannyāsa* of *rūpa*. Haiku is the incarnation of loneliness, of minimal words. The dusty leaf-hut of India is repeated in Japan as a hut with not a single particle of dust. Zen has transformed the primitive into an exquisite flower. The same is done by Japan to modern technology. The emptiness of the phenomenal world, called the ocean of existence or *bhavasāgara*, is the sand garden at Ryoanji, the *kare sansui* "dry landscape", traversing the seas of illusion towards the shores of *satori* "illumination" to cross over the sandy ripples of the ocean of existence.

The consecration of the Daibutsu of Todaiji, was accompanied by Sanskrit music introduced by Buttetsu from Champa (Vietnam). His musical drama Senshu-raku "Joy of a Thousand Autumns" is the most ancient form of Sanskrit music practised today. It is a national treasure of Japan and also of India which deserves the attention of historians of Indian music. Moreover, Sanskrit is the common linguistic inheritance of India and Japan. In the 1920s *bandai* was used in Japanese in place of 'yours truly' at the end of a letter. It is Sanskrit *vande*. The *kahara* tiles on the roof of a temple are Sanskrit *kapāla*. The Japanese *budo* 'grapes' are Sanskrit *mṛdvī*. *Kisaragi* 'early spring when trees begin to bud' is Sanskrit *kisalayī*. The Japanese *tsuzumi* for drum is Sanskrit *dundubhi*. The Japanese word *jinrikisha* is common in Hindi as *riksha*. Formerly we read the works of Daisetz Suzuki on Zen, today we ride Suzuki cars. The minds were saturated with

Professor Suzuki, now our roads are full of Suzuki cars. Japan has a penchant for the extra-ordinary. The stupas enshrined relics, sutras, statues, but an unusual gorinto consecrates the love letters of Ono-no Komachi. Though un-Confucian, it has a parallel in the Sanskrit lyric of Gītagovinda.

Since Buddhism travelled to Japan, the Japanese have longed to be pilgrims to India. In A.D. 818 Kongo-sammai (Vajrasamādhi) came to India via China. He makes a realistic observation that millions of flies swarmed the dining rooms of Nalanda but disappeared when the monks settled down to eat. In the 850s Hodo (Dharmabodhi) undertook a hundred day long meditation. On the 70th day a beautiful lady entered the room and he fell in love. In remorse, he travelled to China and thence to the Vulture Peak in India to expiate his sin. In A.D. 861 Prince Takaoka came to China and embarked on a boat to India. He died on the way in Malaya. The monk Myoe Shoin (1163) was unable to visit India. He consoled himself by giving the Sanskrit name Prāgbodhi to the hill in front of his monastery and calling the stream flowing by as Nairāñjanā. In the Tokugawa period, a great scholar of Avataṃsaka Hotan washed his feet in sea water at a beach in the thought that the water extended to the shores of the motherland of Buddhism.

Like the Japanese, Indian yogins have a long tradition of going about in Japan. As early as the sixth century, an Indian yogin lived in the Kataoka village by begging alms. Shōtoku Taishi wrote a poem on him. In the middle of the seventh century Dharmabodhi (Hodo) came via China and settled in Hokkezan. He had a small image of Thousand-armed Kannon. He restored the Emperor to health, when all the royal physicians had failed. In 651 he instituted the Festival of the Tripitaka (Daizoe). In A.D. 683 another Indian yogin Taicho lived on Mount Ochi. In 773 Bodhisena reached Osaka and became a national figure and exerted historic influence over the destinies of Japan. The Imperial Court showered bounties on him, as you do to me today. He was loved by the people and alongwith Emperor Shomu he was one of the four founders of the Todaiji. His tomb still exists in the Tomiyama forest. In A.D. 799 an Indian was washed ashore somewhere in the Mikawa province. A young man of twenty years, with nothing to cover his body except a straw coat and short drawers, he was stranded in a country where none understood him. Years later when he became conversant with Japanese he said that he had come from India. He had seeds of cotton with him. He lived at the Kawadera temple at Nara. The Nihon-koki and Ruiju-kokushi both mention that he introduced the cultivation of cotton which became the most important clothing material. The Japanese words *wata* or *hata* for cotton are derived from Sanskrit *paṭa*. In our times, poet Tagore renewed these historic links as a 'relationship of ideals which made India and

Japan living spiritual comrades". Tagore called it the "path of poets" that has illumined nearly 15 centuries. The coming together of India and Japan can become a mighty propulsive force and a profound movement kissing the hearts of men with Karuṇā or Compassion leading to peace eternal. A painter once said: "Give me a branch to sit on and I will sing like a bird". Our coming together may be that branch, our message that song.

The vast cultural heritage of Japan is unique to interpret the history of Asia. The Japanese Kannon ends with *on* 'sound'. What enigma lies embedded in its silence. Men exalt their being in the vision of the images of Kannon sublimed by words of transcendence. I have used it as a starting point and opened up the complex systems of Kannon in Sino-Japanese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Indonesian. The Japanese word raises a doubt whether the original Sanskrit word was not Avalokita-svara. This form is actually found in Sanskrit manuscripts from Central Asia. He evolved into Avalokita as a Bodhi-sattva of the tenth bhūmi, worshipped as an independent deity. Later he was influenced by Īśvara /Jizai = Śiva, and came to be a syncretic deity as Avalokiteśvara or Kanjizai. This name had crystallised by the time Genjō wrote his Siyuki in A.D. 646. The cult of Kanjizai replaced the worship of Śiva. Gradually, other popular deities were admitted as Lokeśvaras or Lokanāthas which the Sino-Japanese tradition continued to term Kannon. The thirtythree manifestations of Kannon are an interiorisation of the prevalent deities.

The Japanese evidence of dates is crucial for the history of Indian art. The Darani-jikkyo or collection of hymns by Ajikuta who worked at Ch'ang-an in A.D. 653-654 provides one of the earliest landmarks for iconography in India as well as Indonesia. It is four centuries earlier than the Niṣpannayogāvalī of Abhayākaragupta who lived around A.D. 1114.

During my visit to China, whenever I asked about the history of Chinese Buddhism, invariably the answer was: "you will find it in Japan".

The Japanese traditions of Shingon, with large number of root texts, exegetical works and ritual manuals, sculptures and paintings from the Heian period onwards enable us to find a new interpretation of the monuments of Indonesia like Chandi Sewu, the Nāñjuk Hoard, Chandi Mendut, and Barabudur as representations of the Kongokai maṇḍala. The Japanese material also calls for a fresh interpretation of the Indonesian texts like the Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan. The meaning of Chandi Pawon demands a new look in the light of the Shi-dō or four rites of Japanese goma/homa. Japan provides an astonishing fare of diverse elements to interpret the manifold strands of the historic culture of Asia. What once was alive in Asia from Samarkand to Kanchi, Srilanka to

Sumatra, Java to Champa, China to Korea lives today only in Japan that enables us to knit stray pieces of evidence into a coherent whole. Asia looks to Japan where shines the mind undisturbed. From the Indian seed of Enlightenment, Zen has grown on Japanese soil. Asia wants to be a pilgrim-being with Japan on a path that leads to self-reliance (*jiyu*) and self-being (*jizai*), to use Zen terms.

Finally, my name Lokesh is Lokeśvara/Kannon and Chandra is Moon. Here I am in Japan to do homage to Kannon. Chandra reminds me of a verse of Saigyo on hermit's hut. The voices of our deeps seek new laurels in creations and continuities.

49. DHYĀNA TO ZEN

The word Zen is the youngest descendant of Sanskrit *dhyāna*, Pali *jhāna* 'contemplation, pondering over, meditation'. Its correlate in the Ṛgveda is *dhenā* in the sense of 'speech reflecting the inner thoughts of man'. Its ancient Iranian or Avestan equivalent is *daena*, which is a common word in the Gathas, meaning 'inner self of man, revelation, faith, religion'. It survives in modern Persian as *dīn* 'religion'. Its derivative in Lithuanian is *daina*, the noblest expression of their mind, written at the morning of their world, with the dew still on them. The Lithuanian *daina* speak of a time when joy walked over the earth. They are unique treasures of the thatched roof of the Lithuanian countryside, heart-stirring in their simplicity and subtlety. Likewise, Zen is the warm reality of the living culture of Japan. Japan was moulded late in the history of planet earth, it is geologically young. So is Zen, ever young in its simple artless perspective. It is the beauty of function and line, the beauty of the iron of a tea kettle or of a bamboo stirrer. Zen has transformed the primitive and the savage into an exquisite spiritual flower. Elemental and beyond measure, it has become the ceremonial logic of human relations in Japan. The influence of Zen on Japanese art, taste, attitude and perception has been profound. Its sway on the masters of garden design and archery, of tea ceremony and flower arrangement, of poetry and pottery, of Noh plays and swordsmanship, on architects, painters and sculptors has been pervasive and powerful as the spirit of Zen is dear and near to the very heart of the Japanese people. Zen is an appreciation of intuition and action, a cult of essentiality and purity, a love of nature as the direct embodiment of the Absolute. In the words of a Vedic hymn: *paśya devasya kāvyam yo na mamāra na jiryati* 'see the poesy of the Lord that neither dies nor decays'.

Zen was carried to China by Bodhidharma, the youngest son of a king of Kanchi and a follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line. Palmleaves inscribed by Prajñātāra have survived in Japan. Bodhidharma reached China early in the sixth century after long peregrinations. He had an audience with the noted patron of Buddhism, Emperor Liang Wu-ti (502-550) of South China. He pointed out to the Emperor the futility of establishing monasteries, copying sutras and supporting monks. The historicity of Bodhidharma has been controversial. The first mention of Kanchi is in 'The Record of the Transmission of the Lamp' compiled in 1002. The Ch'an tradition says that their doctrine was transmitted by an uninterrupted succession of twentyeight Indian patriarchs: from Mahākāśyapa the disciple of the Buddha, to Bodhidharma who brought it to China. Bodhidharma handed down the doctrine to Hui-k'o (traditional dates: 487-593), and from

him through four other Chinese patriarchs to Hui-nêng (639-716). Bodhidharma finally transmitted the "Seal of Mind" to Hui-k'o, who had cut off his arm to express the deep sincerity of his resolve. In the Kozanji ink scroll of the Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma lineage, Hui-k'o kneels down in front of him. Blood gushes forth from the stump of his left arm, and the knife and the cut-off arm lie next to him on the ground. According to late accounts Bodhidharma crossed the Yangtze on a reed, and spent nine years in meditation in front of a rock wall at the Shao-lin monastery.

Bodhidharma had said that Tao-fu had acquired the skin, the nun Tsung-ch'ih the flesh, and Tao-yu the bone, and that Hui-k'o had penetrated into the marrow (the essence) of the doctrine. Like this statement, mist surrounds the evolution of the legend of Bodhidharma, which is as controversial as he himself must have been in life. The tradition is consistent in pointing out that he was a prince of Kanchi. His association with Tamil – speaking Kanchi is confirmed by the Japanese form of his name: Bodai-daruma, shortened to Daruma. The Tamil form is Bodi-daruma: a modern painting at the Kanchi Seminar on Dhyāna and Tantric Buddhism held on 10-15 March 1986, had the caption *Bodi-daruma*. The Japanese name *Daruma* goes back to an ancient popular name of the master. Moreover, the tradition that the doctrine was transmitted from Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma appears to have a basis. It seems that the modern Kacchapeśvara Temple at Kanchi was a Buddhist sanctum in ancient times dedicated to Mahākāśyapa the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. To this day there are some Buddhist sculptures in this temple. The tradition of twenty-eight patriarchs of Dhyāna Buddhism can be of Indian origin.

There are three basic scriptures of Zen: (i) *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, (ii) *Vajracchedikā Prajñā-pāramitā* and (iii) the Hymn to *Nilakantha Lokeśvara*. Bodhidharma took Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* as its scripture, as it was the only available Chinese version at the time.

The "Record of the Succession of the Dharma-treasure", a history of Zen Buddhism discovered from the Tun-huang Caves, says that the first patriarch of the *Laṅkāvatāra* as representing the Dharma-treasure was Bodhidharma who revealed the inner meaning of the *Sūtra*. The connection of Bodhidharma and *Laṅkāvatāra* is thus intimate. *Laṅkāvatāra* can refer to Kanchi. It is stated in the life of Hsüan-tsang by Hui-li: "Kanchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days". Further, subtle nuances point to Kanchi as the native place of Bodhidharma and as the home of Zen. The tea ceremony ends with the banging of the lid on to the teapot. When I enquired of my Japanese host, Prof. Chikyo Yamamoto, he said: "Master

Bodhidharma used to slam the lid in times of yore". How Indian! I was sure once again: It must go back to Bodhidharma.

The Zen adepts reject the written word and claim an unwritten doctrine, transmitted from mind to mind, where the heart of man directly sees into its own nature. Yet, when Hui-nêng was invested as the Sixth Patriarch, the corridor was painted with scenes from the Laṅkāvatāra, besides the paintings of the Five Patriarchs Transmitting the Robe of Bodhidharma and the Dharma as a testimony for future generations. Bodhidharma had sanctioned the lineage of five Chinese Patriarchs of Zen in a gāthā that ran: "one flower with five petals is unfolded". In its earlier phases Zen Buddhists were mainly a kind of Laṅkāvatāra sect. The teachings of pratyātma-gati-gocara 自到境界 of the Laṅkāvatāra provide a philosophical basis for the transcendental intuition of Zen. In the Laṅkāvatāra Buddha tells Mahāmāti to attain a state of inner realisation (pratyātma-gocara 自證境界) and when one has pratyātma-jñāna 自證(覺)聖智 one is enlightened. The Laṅkāvatāra is unique in emphasising that life is experiencing truth: seeing must be living and living seeing. The Laṅkāvatāra certifies the existence of the Buddha-mind in each of us and provides Zen its doctrinal base. The Laṅkāvatāra forbids meat-eating and recounts eight reasons for abstaining from meat. To take the lives of animals and eat their flesh is like eating our own. Eating meat is spiritual pollution. To this day, food in Zen monasteries is vegetarian. While Zen stands on its own, the Laṅkāvatāra confirms it and is also its philosophical essence.

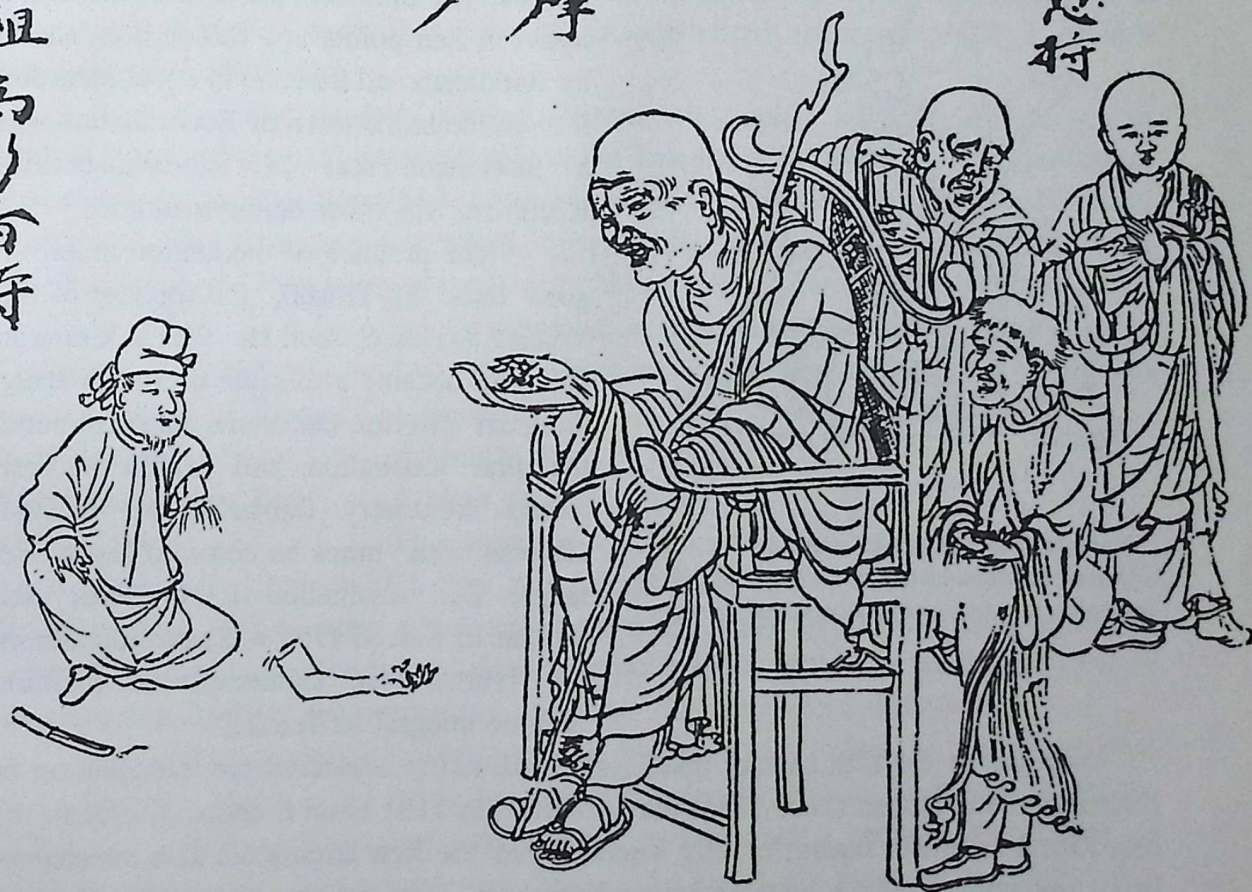
The Laṅkāvatāra was highly philosophical and abstruse to the Chinese. During the time of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-nêng the emphasis shifted to the Vajracchedikā which was more understandable than the recondite Laṅkāvatāra. Besides meditation, painting was the other forte of Zen. Prajñāpāramitā lent itself admirably to the tenor of Zen painting. The Ch'an masters of Mid T'ang were distinguished by their non-conformist techniques of painting. Wang Mo "Ink Wang" painted landscapes starting from configurations of ink splashes, the manner of Zen painters who delighted in expressing their sincerity in trans-logical forms like a "one stroke" Bodhidharma (Jap. Ippitsu Daruma by Shokai Reiken 1315-1396). The dictum *rūpam eva' śūnyatā śūnyatā eva rūpam* of the Vajracchedikā inspired Zen art which vanished into nowhere, with its diaphanous water colours and empty spaces interfering with the coherence of thought and form. A painting shimmered in meditation. Zen was deeply steeped in the Prajñāpāramitā philosophy of śūnyatā.

A scroll of the Prajñāpāramitā is held in the hand of Mañjuśrī, whose image can often be seen in the Meditation Halls (zendō) of Zen monasteries. Mañjuśrī expounds

弟子道星尺惣持

第一祖菩提達摩
論四覺禪

第二祖烏行看特



第四

三

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Bodhidharma and his pupils. Blood gushes forth from the stump of the left arm of Hui-k'o with the cut-off arm on the ground. Hui-k'o cut off his arm to demonstrate his earnestness to Bodhidharma to seek instruction.

this book, the doctrine of śūnyatā, which has exerted a decisive influence on the thought of Zen. As the Ideal Teacher and the Eternal Teacher, Mañjuśrī is venerated by Zen Buddhists. Teacher-disciple relationship is fundamental in Zen.



Mañjuśrī (Monju Bosatsu) stands for Prajñā. Sitting on a lion he holds a sword to cut all entanglements to reveal transcendental Wisdom.

The Dhāraṇī to Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is what the Zen monk reads in his daily service. The eminent role of the Nilakaṇṭha hymn in Zen points to a milieu dominated by Buddhism and Śaivism in equal measure. Kanchi the home-town of Bodhidharma was a prominent seat of Śaivism, besides Buddhism and other denominations.

The practice of meditation in Japan goes back to Dōshō, the founder of the Yogācāra (Hossō) sect. He went to China in 653, and became a disciple of Hsüan-tsang the great pilgrim. On return, he constructed the first meditation hall within the first Hossō monastery. Tao-hsüan was the first Chinese Zen monk to come to Japan. He taught Zen meditation to Gyōkyō, the teacher of Saichō (767-822) the founder of the Tendai sect. Contemplative tradition became integral to Tendai.

It was in the 12th century that Eisai (1141-1215) pioneered the transmission of Rinzai sect, and Dōgen (1200-1253) the Sōtō sect. In 1191 Eisai founded Shōfukuji the first Rinzai centre in Japan. In 1202 Kenninji was the first large-scale Zen monastery. Eisai was invited by the government to Kamakura. Here he constructed the Jūfukuji monastery which was to become the greatest bastion of Zen. Henceforth Zen flourished at both the cultural cities of Kyoto and Kamakura and grew rapidly. Japanese monks journeyed to China to study at and to perform pilgrimage to the "Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries". Zen towered over Japanese culture, making notable contributions to popular and higher education, producing vigorous masters, expressive calligraphy, and painters with a tectonic monumentality.

Tradition records that the Buddha handed over Zen to Mahākāśyapa. It passed on from him on to the twentyeighth patriarch Bodhidharma, the first patriarch in the Chinese transmission. Yet, the accent of Zen masters has been that its ultimate authority issues out of direct personal experience. In whatever situation a person be, he is always free in his inner life. Zen is "self-reliance" (*jiyū* 自由) and "self-being" (*jizai* 自住). Riddles exude from the mind as clouds rise from mountain peaks. As Zen masters say "examine the living words and not the dead ones". The mind awakens a consciousness attuned to the pulsation of Reality. The cosmic conscious is not revealed unless one experiences samādhi (*sammai*), a state of one-pointedness (*ekāgratā* 一線): again a link with the *Laṅkāvatāra*.

The eternally serene *vivikta-dharma*, the spirit of eternal Loneliness (寂靜之法) of the *Laṅkāvatāra* is the *sabi* of Zen that conditions landscape gardening, tea-ceremony, flower-arrangement, furniture, and so on. It has elements of simplicity and naturalness, familiarity and refinement, commonness veiled with a mist of inwardness. The Zen sense of Alone is represented in the "thrifty brush": minimum of lines to express plenitude of form. It is the aesthetic appreciation of absolute poverty, *sannyāsa* of form. The poetic form *haiku* is poverty (*hin*), is loneliness itself. Its foremost poet Bashō was an incarnation of Eternal Loneliness:

<i>Kare eda ni</i>	A branch shorn of leaves
<i>Karasu no tomari keri</i>	A crow perching on it--
<i>Aki no kure</i>	This autumnal eve.

A raven on a dead branch of a tree: it is the great Beyond. Eternal Aloneness is *fūga* "refinement of life". A pure, serene mind alone can enjoy the absolute aloneness. The environment has to be free from defilements: not a speck of dust in the thatched hut in the courtyard (*roji*) of the monastery, and there shines the mind undisturbed.

Zen is transcendental aloofness amidst things worldly, to feel the inward presence of the highest values. It is longing for primal simplicity, to be in the bosom of nature, to feel her pulsations. Draw bamboos for ten years, become a bamboo, then forget all about bamboos when you are drawing. This is the Zen of the bamboo: to become one with the spirit that is bamboo. Instincts and intuitions merge into *prajñā* immovable. As the primal poet Vālmiki was moved by a hunter shooting a love-lorn bird-couple to the spontaneity of the *śloka* metre, likewise Zen monks view sparrows in a special light. The Zen artist Ten-an Kaigi likens two sparrows to the two disciples of Śākyamuni: Mahākāśyapa and Maudgalyāyana. The painting "Sparrows and Bamboo", attributed to Mu-ch'i (13th century), has been praised through the centuries. Affectionately termed

"Wet Sparrows" the two birds are huddled together, dampened by a chill rain. It depicts the oneness of all Life, whether human or avian. The Ṛgveda speaks of the symbolism of two birds. In a touching tribute to his dead pet sparrow, Ikkyū dedicated a gāthā in 1453, in which he likened its passing to the final nirvāṇa of Śākyamuni. Zen masters saw a parallel between an enlightened individual and a sparrow uninhibited in its spontaneous joy: the *sat-cid-ānanda* of Vedānta. A hymn to the frog in the Ṛgveda has a parallel in Bashō (1643-94) the founder of the modern school of haiku. A coincidence that his revolutionary movement starts with a haiku on a frog splashing into the waters:

<i>Furu ike ya</i>	The old pond, ah!
<i>Kawazu tobikomu,</i>	A frog jumps in:
<i>Mizu no oto.</i>	The water's sound.

Sengai (1750-1837), abbot of Shofukuji monastery, was a Zen poet, painter and calligrapher, and full of wit and humour. He painted a banana with a frog crouching under it. It was a comment on Bashō and his frog. Bashō means a banana plant in Japanese. Over the picture he wrote:

<i>Ike araba</i>	If there were a pond [around here]
<i>Tande basho ni</i>	I would jump in, and let Bashō
<i>Kikasetai.</i>	Hear [the plop]!

The haiku is brevity and austere simplicity. It recalls the sūtra style in Sanskrit where the decrease of half a vowel in a grammatical sūtra was celebrated like the birth of a son. As with Indian poets, the cuckoo is favourite with Japanese poets. Once Chiyo (1730-75) the haiku poetess called on a noted haiku master. He gave her the conventional theme of the cuckoo:

<i>Hototo-gisu</i>	Hearing a cuckoo cry,
<i>Nakitsuru kata wo</i>	I looked up in the direction
<i>Nagamureba,</i>	Whence the sound came:
<i>Tada ariake no</i>	What did I see?
<i>Tsuki zo nokoreru.</i>	Only the pale moon in the dawning sky.

The poetess made several attempts but the master rejected them as untrue to feeling. She pondered a whole night, and as she noticed the light of dawn trickling in, the following haiku formed in her mind.

<i>Hototogisu,</i>	Calling "cuckoo", "cuckoo",
<i>Hototogisu tote,</i>	All night long,
<i>Akenikeri</i>	Dawn at last.



Samantabhadra (Fugen Bosatsu)
stands for Karuṇā/Compassion.



Avalokiteśvara (Kannon Bosatsu)
is the giver of fearlessness.

The thatched hut, the parṇa-kuṭī of India, has become the aestheticism of simplicity in the art of tea. It is sannyāsa in architecture, a proximity to roots, stripping off of all artificial trappings. The ritual of tea was introduced in Japan by the Zen master and National Teacher Dai-ō in 1267. The tea ceremony comprises the feeling of harmony (wa), reverence (kei), purity (sei), and tranquillity (jaku). These four elements constitute an orderly life in a Zen monastery. Tea-drinking is cultivating the inner field of consciousness. Sitting in a semi-dark and irregular room, a crudely formed tea bowl eloquent with the personality of the maker, listening to the sound of boiling water, the sound of water dripping from a bamboo trough outside the hut, induce a state of tranquillity (Sanskrit *śamatha*). Tea is a psycho-sphere. Lord Kṛṣṇa speaks of the flowers, leaves, fruits, and water as offerings to Him in the fullness of the heart. Toyotomi Hideyoshi a patron of the art of tea gave this verse to his master Sen no Rikyū (1521-91):

When tea is made with water drawn
from the depths of Mind
Whose bottom is beyond measure,
We really have what is called cha-
no-yu.

The Bhagavad Gītā was revealed on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. In India sword and scripture (*śāstra* and *sāstra*) were one. So was Zen the spirit of the samurai. It taught him to treat life and death as one, as non-duality, in Japanese mu-ni (無二 or, 不二 mu 'not', ni 'two'). Zen is will power urgently needed by the warrior. The Japanese say: *ken zen ichi* "the sword (ken) and Zen are one (ichi)". Sages like Droṇa are great

masters of the art of war in the Indic tradition. The Zen masters too were famous teachers of swordsmanship. Zen gives a resolute mind. A Zen warrior hates to meet death lingeringly. He desires to be blown away like the cherries before the wind. Fearlessness (*abhaya*) in a fleeting world of non-reality. Avalokiteśvara (Kannon Bosatsu) is the 'giver of fearlessness' and all haiku poets worship Kannon and are hence fearless. The sword is identified with the annihilation of things that lie in the way of peace, justice, and humanity. Sword is the embodiment of life and not of death. Mañjuśrī carries a sword in his right hand and a sūtra in his left. A Zen master knows when and how to wield either of them. A master of the sword or the spear is called *oshō* in Japanese, which is *ojhā* in Hindi and *upādhyāya* in Sanskrit, the title of a Buddhist priest. The hall in which swordsmanship is practised is termed *dōjō*, the place of enlightenment, *bodhi-maṇḍa* in Sanskrit. Zen rids the swordsman's mind of the desire to play a passive role.

From the swordsmanship hall (*dōjō*) to the garden. No gardens in the world are more abstract and symbolic than those inspired by Zen. A Zen garden is a starting point for meditation, a possible gate to satori, to delivery from the bondage of illusion and the chains of reincarnation. It is the mystery of autonomy and spontaneity. Every stone has its innuendo, every blade of grass touches off a vortex of reflections. The Ryoanji garden with its naked expanse of white sand acting as a setting for stones takes us back to the sea, to the ocean of existence (*bhava-sāgara*). This supremely abstract monument, the *kare sansui*, the "dry landscape" garden, was designed in the late fifteenth century. The rocks, tiny mounts Fuji, simply mean fuji, not two, that is, peerless, the abolition of all distinctions, the advaya. There are both literal levels and symbolic tangents thereof, crossing the seas of illusion towards the shore of satori "illumination", to cross over the dry sandy ripples of the ocean of existence, the *bhava-sāgara*.

Zen is a product of the Chinese and Japanese soil from the Indian seed of Enlightenment, India's hut and Japanese bamboos, India's sophisticated thought and the bizarre koans: all leading to self-reliance (*jiyū*) and self-being (*jizai*).



50. JAPAN, CUISINE AND CULTURE

Japan is unique in jet-age modernity and the echoes of timeless ages repeated at different levels of existence. The Sun-Goddess Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami or "Heaven-illuminating Great August Deity", the ancestress of the Imperial Family, makes Japan a peerless queendom of the world. In Buddhism the feminine is a symbol of wisdom and prime dynamism (Prajñā-pāramitā and ādyā śakti).

A poem of a thousand years ago in the Kokinshu became the national anthem Kimigayo in the last century. Its lines have wrought magic of such magnitude and consequence in the mind of Japan that we can only wonder in silence and awe:

Rule on, my lord, till what are pebbles now

By age united, to mighty rocks shall grow.

While the inner bastions of Japan stand in their creative majesty, the path she has trod to civilisation of modern science and technology is a miracle. Japan is a wonder of non-Euclidean economy: the words of Kimigayo have become a reality, tiny pebbles have grown into mighty rocks.

Japanese cuisine is a very intimate part of their world-view that existence is not a reflection or shadow of a transcendence but it rather represents the ultimate and final reality. "There is no place in which a *kami*/god does not reside" (quoted in Prof. Hajime Nakamura). Hence liveliness and gaiety is fundamental to the Japanese mind. The world is good, man is a *kami* (*ningen kami de ari*), life is livable, people should flourish, work is good, wealth is good, sex is good, fruits are good. The Shinto seeks the absolute in the phenomenal world, which is both pure and sacred. Japanese cuisine too respects natural consistency and appearance of food. Only the best fruits of land and sea are worthy of being offered on the altars of the *kami* : fish that is just out of the water, fresh fruit, clear *sake* wine, rice as white as snow. Japanese cuisine manifests a delicate and poetic respect for the gifts of field, mountain and water, as they are presented to man by nature. A Japanese meal is a communion with nature: a root is a root, a leaf is a leaf, a fish is a fish. Quantity is measured to avoid satiety.

As early as the first century an imperial mission was sent abroad to bring fruits. In A.D.61, Emperor Suinin sent Tajimamori to a distant land to get oranges. The oranges were then called tokijiku-no-kagu-no-konomi, literally "fragrant fruit out of season". When he came back in A.D.71, the Emperor had died a year before. He offered his fruit to the grave of the Emperor, and committed suicide before it to give a better report on his mission under the sod. Citrus fruits are a contribution of India to the world.

Cooking is a divine art. It has to be done with feeling, with *kan*, with affection, with reverence. Japan has a Goddess of Food, Uke-mochi-no-kami. Mamori or charms inscribed with her name are given at the Geku shrine of Ise. India also has Annapūrṇā as the goddess of plenitude of food.

In the monasteries, monks set aside a portion of their food for Kishimojin (Hārīti). The legend of Kishimojin goes back to Lord Śākyamuni himself. She used to devour a human child every day. In desperation the people approached Śākyamuni. The Lord hid her youngest child under his alms-bowl. She and her demons searched for the child day and night for seven days. Though Śākyamuni showed her the child they could not release him. She beseeched Śākyamuni to give back her youngest and most beloved. Śākyamuni gave her pomegranates to eat, as she promised to abjure human flesh. On being converted, Śākyamuni promised that the monks would give her a portion of their food every day.

Parched peas are scattered about a house at the setsu-bun feast held on the eve of the first day of spring, to clear the *oni* away and purify the house. Each inmate present eats one more than the number of years he has lived. Likewise, in India parched rice consecrate ritual occasions such as marriage.

The rice of daily food is called *uruchi*, from the Indian word *vrūhi*. Scholars say that Japanese rice is of Indian origin. The *uruchi* is boiled into *gohan* (lit. honorable boiled rice). One may leave over any dish, excepting boiled rice, of which every grain has to be eaten, because rice is a result of hard labour. Glory to hard work is enshrined in the Japanese word *shamon* from Sanskrit *śramaṇa* 'the toiling monk'. In India no food has to be left over.

Legend commemorates Uga who first cultivated rice as Inari-sama. This word signifies "load of rice". He is specially honoured at Inari no Yashiro. Tradition has it that in A.D.711 Kobodaishi met an old man carrying a sheaf of rice on his back, near Toji, and recognised in him the protective deity of this temple. He named him Inari (rice-bearer). In India too rice is sacred, as the main offering to the Divine.

The Japanese are very fond of daikon (lit. large-root) or radish. It contains a high percentage of diastase, which helps digest rice. A large forked daikon is offered on an altar prepared in honour of Daikoku or Mahākāla "The Great Time" or Deity of Good Fortune, held on his birthday on 9th December.

Most Buddhist priests of old were vegetarians, their chief food consisting of rice, beans and vegetables. Even the laity lived more upon vegetables than on meat, though they were certainly great eaters of fish. The first U.S. Minister to Japan, Townsend

Harris was stationed at Shimoda, Izu Peninsula. He wanted to eat beef. At the time the Japanese did not eat beef. A kind farmer offered him a cow, which was tethered to a citrus tree nearby and butchered to satisfy the gastral desire of the American Ambassador. Later, a monument was erected, near the citrus tree, with a prayer for the peaceful repose of the cow, which offered its own life to satisfy the desire of a human. While Harris was staying at the Zempukku-ji temple, Tokyo, he did not go out for an exercise, of which he was very fond. Should any attempt be made on his life, he feared that the relations between Japan and America would be strained. So he took exercises on the temple every day till it was entirely worn out under his shoes. Beef-eating was introduced in Japan by the USA.

Ame (lit. sweet), the first sweets ever produced in Japan, were made from millet during the reign of Emperor Jimmu, the first of the Imperial line. Sugar was introduced to China in the 7th century from India. It was brought to Japan for the first time by the Chinese priest Kanshin of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 753. Kobo Daishi brought some sweets on his return from China in A.D. 804. Sweets are integral to Buddhist offerings. It was about the middle of the 15th century that sweets of any kind were popularly manufactured in Japan. Their production was promoted by Cha-no-yu or the tea ceremony towards the end of the 16th century. Thus India and Japan have shared uruchi (rice), rituals, legends, taboo on beef, sweets: in fact a whole range of culinary culture.

Shamon (śramaṇa), sweets and sūtras have gone together in history. Bakshi means a bhikṣu, a shamon. So once again Mr. Lalit Bakshi brings to the Land of the Rising Sun Indian dishes like the Seven Herbs of Spring (*Haru no nana kusa*). Here is me, Chandra or the Moon, gazing at the Seven Herbs of Autumn (*Aki no nana kusa*) set on a dais in front of an open window in honour of the September moon. Hanki is one of the sons of Benten (Sarasvatī) whose attribute is a rice dish. It is appropriate that I, as an Indian son of Sarasvatī, should have the honour of being present at this pavilion of food. Quivering reflections of fluidity of time reminiscent of the sweets travelling alongwith the sūtras (*okyo*) and sculptures. Food for the tongue, food for thought from the distant Land of the Buddha in the living tissue of Japanese life. It is the ethereal aroma of Divine Śākyamuni himself.

51. SŪRYA IN EAST ASIA

Sūrya or the Sun has marvelled the mind of man, ever alive in the lyric of legends, recounted by generations of simple folk. As the star-studded heavens attracted the curiosity and challenged the scrutiny of primaeval man, on the one hand were fixed stars of various degress of brilliance, and on the other were the sun, the moon and other planets constantly changing their positions, and symbolising motion, movement, onward march, evolution and unceasing progress, so it is said by Indra in the Vedic text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. So strong was the impact of the changes that pass over the dome of the sky, at dawn and sunset, that they were viewed as a drama and the solar mythology that arose thousands of years ago in the freedom of the pagan world has survived to this day even in Christianised Europe particularly in the Lettish and Lithuanian folk-songs, one of which reads as follows in Prof. W. Mannhardt's translation.

It happened in the spring-time
That sun and moon did wed,
But the sun rose up early
And from her the moon fled.
The morning star was loved then
By the lone wandering moon,
Who with a sword was smitten
In deep wrath by Perkun (=Sanskrit Parjanya).

The children of the sun and moon are the stars, who are called orphans, because they appear only at night after their mother, the sun has abandoned them, so goes the Lithuanian legend.

The supreme monument of India's earliest thought and perennial inheritance, the Ṛgveda, glorifies Sūrya as the source and sustenance of life, the giver of light and joy, dispelling the dark night of ignorance, he who holds the knowledge of all lives, the creator of light shining through all ethereal space.

Emerging up above the dark,
Toward the higher light we turn;
We have attained the God of Gods,
The Sun itself, the highest light. (RV. 1.50.10)

In another hymn 1.115 of the Ṛgveda, the Sūrya is the Visage of the Divine which irradiates every morn, the Eye of Love overflowing into the illumination of life, the essence, the ātmā of all that moves and moves not, the embodiment of the life-power of

men, animals, plants, verily of the whole of nature itself. This reverence for Sūrya is an integral part of India's tradition and over the centuries hallowed is the Holy Sunrise early in the wane of night, glowing in fiery energy, awakening the clusters of lotuses and dispelling darkness, as stated in a sixteenth century manuscript (in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) of the Jain work Kalpasūtra.

The mythology of Sūrya is equally ancient in China. A Chinese legend states that in the time of Emperor Yao (2357-2255 B.C.), there were ten Suns, which burnt up grass and trees, causing confusion and death on earth. The life of each Sūrya was bound up in a large crow. The emperor commanded his wonderful shotsman Lord Archer Hou-i to shoot arrows at the luminaries. The Lord Archer shot to death nine of the crows, whereupon their respective Sūryas disappeared, leaving only the present to give light and warmth to the earth.

In China, the Sun is defined as corresponding to that which is solid or complete, and hence the symbol of the sovereign upon earth. The great luminary is represented as the essence of the masculine principle in nature and the source of all brightness. From it emanate five colours. The sun, moon and stars, which were worshipped in former times, are known as the Three Luminaries, or the Three Regulators of Time.

In China, it was believed that the Lo-hou hsing or Rāhu is an unlucky star which tries to devour the sun at the time of eclipse. The evil spirit of this star is said to have retarded the birth of Śākyamuni Buddha for six years. The temple drums and gongs are loudly beaten and crackers exploded to prevent this demon from devouring the sun. An eclipse of the sun was believed to bring about a loss of virtue in the emperor, of whom that luminary was the emblem.

In former times an enormous red Sun was depicted on the "shadow wall" placed before the gate of an official building as a bar to all noxious influences. Being typical of the pure and bright principle Yang, it daily suggests to the inmates of the establishment the desirability of pure and just administration. The Sūrya is a symbol of virtuous government. It is powerless when obscured by clouds: so a government is without effect if evil counsel intervenes. As Sūrya shines on high and low alike, the people should, similarly, be impartially treated. In the Chinese work *Fo-pen-hsing-ching*, which was translated from Sanskrit by Pao-yun in 427-449, it is stated that Mother Māyā saw the future Buddha as an elephant entering her womb. The elephant carried on its head "the solar essence", and the Bodhisattva riding the elephant is compared to "the luminous pearl of the sun" and Mother Māyā states that "sun-light has entered her womb". With the introduction of Buddhism into China the Sūrya became symbolic of nobility,

purity, and light. In the cult of the Lord of Healing or Bhaiṣajyaguru, Sūryaprabha alongwith Candraprabha represents eternity of time.

Buddhism entered Japan in A.D. 507 from Korea. Hailed as the harbinger of peace and moral grandeur, it soon proved a creative challenge to the latent intellectual capabilities of the Japanese people, an opportunity for potential literacy, a momentous aesthetic happening and an impressive asset to cultural outflow in all directions. Alongwith Buddhism the vast pantheon of India's Buddhas and bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses was introduced.

Already in the Nara period (645-781), the worship of Bhaiṣajyaguru (in Japanese Yakushi) as the Lord of Healing, alongwith that of Sūryaprabha (Nikkō) and Candraprabha (Gakkō) had become widely prevalent. He was the main deity of Imperial monasteries. The six great temples in Nara which were founded in the period spanning the seventh and eighth centuries show astonishing achievements of architecture, and an extraordinarily high level of sculpture. The culture introduced into Japan from India through China and Korea bore rich and beautiful fruits in the island country. Among them the Yakushi-sanzon or trinity of Yakushi including Sūrya are regarded as the most elegant bronze statues and they are "National Treasures" of Japan. Emperor Temmu had commenced the construction of a special sanctum known as the Yakushiji monastery to enshrine these images. The actual installation could take place only in 697 after the passing away of the Emperor. This bronze statue of Sūrya is one of the most elegant of bronzes of the seventh century, which exist in such a fine state of preservation. It was originally covered with gold but the great fire of 1528 gave it its present appearance. In the movement expressed by his body and in the grace of features, he enchances the nobility of the expression of alleviation of the human condition. The veneration of Sūrya (Sun) and Candra (Moon) was a part of the cult of Bhaiṣajyaguru, which gained prominence after its Sanskrit text had been translated into Chinese by the famous pilgrim-scholar Hsüan-tsang in 650. The elegance of the tribhaṅga posture of Sūrya and the mudrās of his hands remind of the Classical grace of Indian canons of śilpa.

Monk Kukai, who was later to be famed as Kobo Daishi, left his homeland in the July of 805 aboard an imperial ship. He reached Ch'ang-an in late December. He studied under the Chinese master Hui-kuo (746-805), and returned to Japan in 806. In 823 the Emperor of Japan gave control of the Toji monastery to Kobo Daishi for the protection of the empire. Sūrya was one of the many divinities who assured the peace and prosperity of the realm. A folding silk screen dated 1191 depicts the Twelve Devas among whom is Sūrya standing on a lotus holding the orb of the flaming sun on a stemmed lotus in

his right hand. These were placed in the meditation hall as a spiritual protection for the novices. The raised lotus supporting the orb of the sun, the falling cascades of drapery, and the smile gently playing over the face render it a moving creation (GeNiBi vol. 7 pl. 96). An earlier colour painting in silk at the Toji monastery, which is dated 1127, shows Sūrya (in Japanese Nitten) flanked by two acolytes. This is admired as a balanced composition with the main figures placed against spacious background in soft colours. They inspire a sense of hidden meaning into the onlooker. Kobo Daishi has said "people can be made to *feel* truth by means of forms and colours".

In 736 an Indian monk Bodhisena arrived in Japan on Imperial invitation. He was appointed the Archbishop of the National Monastery of Todaiji at Nara. Its Daibutsu was consecrated in April 752 by Bodhisena. In the Sangatsu-do or Third-Month Hall of this monastery one sees a painted clay statue of Sūrya (Nikkō) in dry lacquer with colours, rising to a height of about twelve feet. With folded hands, this Sūrya image stands out in a refined, compactly moulded and strikingly powerful manner. It is a National Treasure of Japan. This polychrome clay statue belongs to the Early Nara period, that is the seventh century, whose characteristic was Animation in Tranquility. Towering with a height of over six feet, it has an innocent countenance beaming with amiability, so much so that 'your wrath, your cares, your distresses will vanish away like mist', so say the Japanese (GeNiBi. 3 pl. 8)

Another image of Sūrya (Nikkō) belonging to the eleventh century, dated 1064, is preserved at the Koryuji monastery at Kyoto. He stands with the orb of the Sun over a long-stemmed lotus held in both hands. Its rich dark patina exudes the perfume of ages.

The images of Sūrya lent aura to several major monastic complexes of Japan. In the esoteric temple of Kozanji at Kyoto, which was founded in 1206 and is renowned for its oldest tea-garden, had a wooden sculpture of Sūrya (Nikkō bosatsu) in dry lacquer exuding blissfulness of visage and a classic tranquility. Now it is in the National Museum of Tokyo. The expression of the whole creates a feeling of profound peace : a pure and serene harmony which shines above all (GeNiBi. 3 pl. 90).

In 741 Emperor Shomu established two monasteries in each province of Japan, one for monks and another for nuns. These monasteries were known as kokubunji. The kokubunji of Yamaguchi has a painting of Sūrya among the Twelve Devas belonging to the early thirteenth century. Riding on five horses, holding the orb of the sun, he expresses intense vigour of movement (GeNiBi vol.7 pl. 106). This lacquered wooden sculpture, with eyes in meditation and graceful in demeanour, expresses an inner harmony (GeNiBi vol.7 pl.28).

A number of texts are devoted to the adoration (pūjā) of Sūrya where his worship is described in elaborate details. These magnificent rites and rituals, impressive in form and colour, esoteric in initiation and subtle in mystery, enriched the mind of Japan's faithful, while its metaphysics and symbolism attracted penetrating intellects. The *goma* (which is *homa* in Sanskrit) ceremonies of Sūrya in a metallic vessel or *homa-kunḍa* are charmingly delineated in the illuminated manuscript of *Goma-rodan-yo* which is preserved at the Toji monastery. The illustration of Sūrya and his *kunḍa* are reproduced here. Every planet and constellation had a different form of *kunḍa*.

With the advent of the ninth century, Japanese life had been transformed by assimilation with Buddhist civilisation. In this century culture reached its culmination in the personalities of teachers like Kobo Daishi (774-835). He brought the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala to Japan, wherein Sūrya, his consort and acolyte Vijaya find a place on the temporal plane. In 1036 this maṇḍala was cut into several hundred woodblocks. The Sūrya triad is reproduced from these woodprints, besides their symbolic form.

True to India's tradition of expression on the triple plane of the physical, verbal and spiritual, every deity could be represented in East Asia as anthropomorphic, as a symbolic syllable and in the abstraction of meditation. Sūrya was written down as a mantra in the Siddham script which is a form of ancient Nagari. Here it is illustrated in the hand of Ji-un, one of the greatest masters of Siddham calligraphy who lived in the 18th century. He calligraphed Sanskrit to deepen moral excellence and cultivate virtue. Tradition has it that goddess Sarasvatī had herself appeared to Master Ji-un and initiated him into the mysteries of Sanskrit.

In Japanese worship, mudrās are an integral element to evoke the visual presence of the divine. Sūrya has his distinct mudrā which is illustrated alongside from a scroll of mudrās used to this day in Japan.

The Indian Sūrya in Japan represents the time aspect of human life, and alongwith Candra (Moon) it denotes eternity in cosmic order. Conceived with a primal sense of wonder and grandeur Sūrya infuses and overflows the Japanese world in sculptures and paintings.



日天子

百五十



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1. International seminar on 'Inner and Outer Space', organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for Arts, in November 1986.
2. Seminar on 'Creativity and Environment' organised by the Sahitya Akademi, 27 February 1985.
4. International seminar on 'The Making of an Earth Citizen', organised by the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, 16-19 January 1989.
5. International seminar on 'Towards New Beginnings', arranged by the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, January 1988.
6. Seminar on 'The New Paradigms of Development in the 21st Century', held at the India International Centre, 20 August 1985.
7. Exhibition cum seminar 'Ākāra', organised by the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, in November-December 1988.
8. International seminar on 'Literature in Translation', 13 March 1984.
9. International seminar on 'India and World Literature', 22 February 1985.
10. Festival on the 10th anniversary of the Centre for Indian Classical Dances, 10 July 1987.
12. U.G.C. national seminar on 'Ellora Caves: Sculptures and Architecture', 18 November 1985.
13. Broadcast from the All-India Radio on 18 April 1980.
14. Foreword to S. D. Trivedi, *Secret Services in Ancient India*, 16 April 1984.
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18. International conference on 'Buddhism and National Cultures', 15 October 1984.
22. Seminar on 'Dhyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism', organised by the Department of Philosophy, Tamil University, at Kanchipuram, March 1986.
25. Seminar on 'Mahābhārata', organised by the Sahitya Akademi, 16 February 1987.
27. Indo-Greek Symposium, European Cultural Centre, Delphi (Greece), 4-18 June 1984.
29. Dialogue-Congress Western Europe-India, held at Alpbach, Austria, 17-22 June 1983.

30. Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 17 September 1984.
31. Bicentenary celebrations of Alexander Csoma de Koros, organised by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi, 17 April 1984.
32. Seminar organised by the Yeats Society of India, at the India International Centre, New Delhi, 28 February 1989.
33. Panel discussion on Nicholas Roerich under the auspices of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 31 October 1989.
37. First International Ramayana Festival and Seminar, Pandaan, Indonesia, September 1971.
42. XXVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Ann Arbor, Michigan (USA), 1967.
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50. World Design Exposition, Nagoya, 14 July 1989.

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